THE LIVING AGE

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Americans have, so far, felt the pinch of war only in the prospect that they may not be allowed to buy as many automobiles and electric refrigerators as they would like. Thanks to comparative "control of the seas," the British still have enough to eat, but under new clothing regulations, shabbiness is a compulsory fashion.

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THE LIVING AGE

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In 1844

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The World Over

ONE OF THE MOST PUZZLING elements in the whole war situation is the almost clocklike regularity with which reports of an imminent peace are heard. It is readily to be understood why Germany, which apparently sets most of these reports afloat, would like nothing better than peace on the basis of her present territorial acquisition—she is in control now of all of Europe and in addition has a substantial slice of the U.S.S.R.

Late in July, the entire German press daily played variations on the theme of "the Reich's historic mission to put an end to all wars." The chorus began getting loud late in June, once the Nazis began their invasion of the Soviet Union. The "peace offensive" is not limited, of course, to publications within Germany herself; articles stressing the charms of a world at peace appear in the Nazi-controlled press of all the occupied nations, and even in the several Nazi publications in this country. Parties unknown set the "peace offensive" rumor circulating at Washington, and Under Secretary of State Welles upholds Mayor La Guardia of New York City who told correspondents that Germany was about to spring a peace plan on the world. The Mayor's words were: "Hitler is now, at this very moment, through his agents, seeking to exploit the well-meaning, well-intentioned, peace-loving citizens in our country and in Central and South America as tools to get across what may be announced very shortly as the Hitler peace proposals."

This may be so, but any peace proposal that Hitler could advance at this time is certain to misfire. Evidently Hitler and his advisors believed that their "European crusade against Communism" would make a powerful appeal in Britain and the United States. That miscalculation is almost incredible were it not for previous Nazi misconceptions. The Communist "threat"

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to the British is insignificant, and the "menace" of Communist thinking and organization in the United States is material only for humor, to anyone who knows the country outside New York.

Aside from that, who can have deluded Hitler that Britain is in a mood for peace, or even an armistice? By rapid stages, the United States is becoming a good deal more than an armed camp. In the twenty-three months of war, this seems for the Nazis the most unpropitious, awkward and transparent time to advance a "peace offensive."

THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE Supreme Soviet Parliament, on July 17, of the re-establishment of dual military and political control over the Red Army was hailed in Berlin as evidence that "things must be pretty bad." This curious system, by which political commissars had equal authority with military officers, originated during the civil war. Few of the Bolsheviks were officers of experience, and while they were forced to rely on the technical knowledge of former Czarist officers, the commissars were sent with them to prevent possible treachery. In peacetime the commissars served as Stalin's spies in the Army, and their reports figured largely in the 1937-38 purges.

The bad showing of the Red Army in the Finnish War, however, seems to have convinced Stalin it was worth while experimenting with the conventional direct single line of military authority. In August 1940 the office of political commissar was abolished.

Two months later, Stalin gave further evidence of his conversion to "capitalist" military methods and issued a new "Disciplinary Code of the Red Army." "The Red Army Turns Prussian" (*The Living Age*, May 1941) indicated the reasons for the attempted metamorphosis of the Russian military organization:

> With the greatest satisfaction the Red Army has welcomed the new disciplinary code, recognizing that it expresses clearly its objective of a genuine military discipline . . . . Insubordination toward a commander is a violation of the soldier's oath of allegiance, and it constitutes a heinous crime against the Fatherland and the people . . . . A commander who has not shown firmness in a case of this kind, who has failed to use all his power to insure execution of an order, must face courtmartial.

Why has Stalin suddenly gone back to the old unwieldy dual method? The obvious explanation—and the one about which the Nazis are congratulating themselves—is that there is disaffection in the Army ranks to an extent that constitutes danger of a counter-revolution, either tsarist or simply anti-Stalinist. (For the attitude of those groups toward the war, see "The Tsarist Solution" on page 513 and "Revive Freedom in Russia" on page 516.) There is another possibility hinted at in the official Soviet statement: that the political commissars are better fitted to deal with civilian defense

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problems than is the military. The character of the Nazi-Soviet War, with guerilla bands fighting behind the rapidly advancing German front demands the co-operation of the local Communist civil groups—collective farm organizations, tractor stations, etc.—if the attack from the rear is to be effective. The commissars may be intended to act as liaison officers. At least, it was by such methods that the new-born U.S.S.R. fought off the troops of the foreign interventionists and the White armies who occupied two-thirds of Soviet territory twenty-two years ago.

AS RUSSIA FACED THE NAZIS in the West, there was conjecture as to what Japan, allied to Germany through the Tripartite Pact, would do in the East, inasmuch as Japan also had a neutrality pact with the U.S.S.R. The Japanese press stressed the fact that if Russia wanted to prove the military pact with Britain signified no change in Russo-Japanese relations, the Kremlin must cease all aid to Chungking and facilitate settlement of all Russo-Japanese problems.

Thus the Tokyo *Yomiuri*, after hearing reports that Moscow had offered Siberian bases to the United States as an ally of Britain against Nazi Germany:

> British measures, manifestly taken in co-operation with the United States, now enables observers clearly to recognize the consolidation of a line of encirclement directed against Japan. This line has now been strengthened in Southeast Asia while, at the same time, efforts are being renewed to intimidate Thailand and draw that country into the orbit of the Anglo-Saxon Powers. Nothing is being left undone, especially in the case of Thai, to develop an Anglophile feeling in the Southeast. It will be recalled that a short time ago officers of the Thai Air Force were invited to Singapore with the object of convincing them of Britain's military power. England seeks to profit by the hesitating attitude of the Thai Government and persuade Bangkok that it will be disadvantageous to come to an understanding with Japan.

These fears of encirclement naturally made Japan anxious. And because Foreign Minister Yosuke Matsuoka had signed not only the Tripartite Pact but the Russian Neutrality agreement, it was found expedient to create a Cabinet crisis and drop him.

Premier Prince Fumimaro Konoye thereupon was called upon, on July 16, to form his third Cabinet, and he chose as his Foreign Minister Admiral Teijiro Toyoda, a selection that came as a surprise, inasmuch as Toyoda is a moderate and his father-in-law, a former admiral, is now connected with the influential Mitsubishi interests.

The new Konoye Cabinet consisted of four generals, three admirals and no politicians, and the world did not know what to expect. Both Washington and London drew plans to hamper any Japanese move into the Indies—via Indo-China—while many observers believed Japanese gestures toward the South were moves to cover an assault on Siberia. Furthermore,

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Tokyo clamped a censorship on news, and railway travel was curbed in favor of troop trains, in Manchukuo.

REPORTS OF THE ANKARA Broadcasting Station have gained no fame for accuracy, but its description of Nazi "infiltration" into Syria as published in *Die Zeitung*, London German-refugee journal, is interesting—if true—for two reasons. It was, evidently, not successful; the Vichy Government on July 14 signed a "military truce" with Great Britain, ending the Syrian war. It is reported (see "In Latin America," page 580) that the same technique was used to stir up the Peru-Ecuador border war.

According to Ankara, a total German division, mainly armored-car and air troops, was smuggled into Syria:

> Some arrived in airplanes, some in small barges and others by railroad. On the Taurus Express, fifty to a hundred persons arrived daily, who identified themselves as German-Jewish immigrants. Their passports were marked with the red "J" stamped over the first page, and they were given the compulsory first name, Israel, which all Jews must use in addition to their given first name. An enormous "J" was also painted on their suitcases. It is characteristic, however, that all the suitcases were absolutely new and exactly alike, obviously the uniform mass product of one factory. These "Jewish" immigrants disappeared into the interior of Syria, immediately after their arrival.

It is a final ingenious cruelty that the Nazis should turn the hospitality granted to their persecuted exiles to a use which is bound to cast suspicion on all Jewish refugees, genuine or not, in every anti-Axis country in the world.

THE OCCUPATION OF ICELAND by the United States—which was announced by President Roosevelt in a surprise message to Congress July 7—had wide repercussions. Interventionists condoned the act as forestalling any move by Germany, inasmuch as the island had been a possession of Denmark, occupied by Germany itself. Isolationists termed the American occupation as a further step toward war, since Iceland is in the Nazis' declared war zone, and only three hours flying time from either the British Isles or from Hitler-occupied Norway. Senator Burton K. Wheeler, leading isolationist, who had correctly forecast several days earlier that American forces would be sent to occupy Iceland, made the further prediction that "it won't be long before we will be occupying Dakar, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands." This remark caused Portugal considerable uneasiness and Washington assured Lisbon that these islands in the mid-Atlantic would be unmolested by the United States. The inference was quickly drawn that Great Britain would take over these mid-ocean dots.

Meanwhile, Nazi Germany denounced the Icelandic occupation as "a stab in the back" and termed Washington's move as pure aggression. Said the German radio in an English-language broadcast:

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> Europe considers his [Roosevelt's] action unheard of interference and will not tolerate it . . . . Roosevelt has now entered the operations area, the European theater of war, and therefore will have to bear the consequences . . . . Roosevelt's action is considered as a stab in the back of Europe, especially as Europe now is engaged in a war against bolshevism. His policy is a continuous series of breaches of the law. His excuses for placing American troops in Iceland are totally untrue and intended only to mislead his people. Because the war is not moving toward his shores, he decided to scrap his election promises and seek war, thus tearing up the Monroe Doctrine.

While England hailed the American move and the Nazis denounced it, the reaction on the other side of the world was interesting. The Japanese Army spokesman in Tokyo declared that the move placed the United States nearer to war in Europe, and the feeling in Asia was that the Icelandic move might be a preliminary step to American occupation of the Dutch Indies and Singapore. And it was not thought improbable that Americans might even be based in Vladivostok, as they were in the last World War, when the Allies attempted to combat the then rising Bolshevik régime. This time, however, Tokyo claimed that the United States was now bolstering the Bolsheviks and that the entire Far East was being menaced by Washington's actions. Said the Army spokesman:

> The landing of United States troops in Iceland creates the same impression in Japan as would the landing of Japanese troops in the Dutch Indies [create in the United States]. There is no guarantee that the United States, on the other hand, might not take similar steps in the Pacific as those taken against Iceland. The war so far has made a detour around America, but America is chasing after it.

MARSHAL PÉTAIN, WHO WROTE with pride that the doctrine of National Socialism is a philosophy originating with the French, and not with the Germans, has his obedient yes-men fairly close to American shores. This Summer, Admiral Robert made a radio address in his capacity of "High Commissioner of the French State to the Antilles and to French Guiana"—it will be noted that "republic," hitherto always occurring in French official titles, has been supplanted by "the French State." Speaking at Fort-au-France, Martinique, Admiral Robert in part said this:

> It is plain enough that anarchy, the dispersion of authority, was the origin of all our misfortunes. For several years, the public good has been abandoned to the caprices of the multitudes. In France, the cult of individualism and the absence of authority engendered disloyalty and disaffection. Now, those people who regard themselves as "sovereign," have the greatest need, as Premier Salazar [of Portugal] has well said, of being well governed. At least silent loyalty should be given those who have the heavy and delicate task of being delegated with some authority; this loyalty and adherence to authority is the cement of any organized hierarchy, and it is the mark of a strong people. . . . One does not flee the

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dwelling, when, profiting by its devastation by a catastrophe, the vultures sweep down on its inhabitants.

"The vultures," the Admiral states by implication, are officials of the United States, and the people of Martinique must defend themselves from those Americans who, under the "pretext" of protecting the natives of Martinique, propose to tear them from the mother country.

We have still to read, among the speeches of the most fervid fire-eaters in the United States, of any American intention to attack the people of Martinique or to pillage their homes.

LATIN-AMERICA HAS OFTEN and justifiably displayed irritation over the reference by United States citizens to themselves, excluding all others, as "Americans"—an unwarranted piece of arrogance, it has been held by our neighbors, for which there is basis neither in past nor contemporary history. The correct use of "America" is in the identification of all the peoples that live in the two great continents of the Western Hemisphere. Indeed the Latin Americans have, if anything, more right to call themselves Americans than do North Americans, for it was to the southern continent in this hemisphere that the Italian, Amerigo Vespucci, gave his name.

But particularly at this critical time, when Pan-Americanism must become something more than oratorical mouthwash, is it invidious to regard the peoples to the south of us as non-Americans. An editorial in a recent issue of *Mexico al Dia* politely chides us "Americans" for our provincialism. Thus:

> When one speaks of America, we in the Western Hemisphere should not think, as do children and many adults to the north of us, of the United States only. Besides, we Americans will soon be the recipients of much of the culture of Europe, whose survival is now menaced. Already, many countries of our hemisphere are hosts to men and women who will make a deep imprint on the civilization of those nations.
>
> America is again the hope of Europe. Ours is a fertile soil for the seeds of that suffering continent.

United States "Americans," however, are not altogether at fault. The difficulty lies in the absence of any better, more precise and less ambiguous label than "Latin Americans." Moreover, to call ourselves "North Americans," as it is sometimes argued we should, is a senseless affront to Canadians, as well as to the indigenous Eskimoes. The next Pan-American Conference might appoint a sub-committee of geographers and lexicographers, not without a sense of humor, to solve the problem.

THE LIVING AGE was established by E. Littell, in Boston, Massachusetts, May 1844. It was first known as LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, succeeding *Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature*, which had been previously published in Philadelphia for more than twenty years. In a prepublication announcement of LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, in 1844, Mr. Littell said: "The steamship has brought Europe, Asia and Africa into our neighborhood; and will greatly multiply our connections, as Merchants, Travelers, and Politicians, with all parts of the world; *so that much more than ever, it now becomes every intelligent American to be informed of the conditions and changes of foreign countries.*"

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Unrest on India's Frontiers

By Sir Alfred Watson

Great Britain and the East, Political-Economic Review, London

LATEST advices from India suggest some continuing anxiety about the position on the frontier. There are stirrings among the tribes there, and the shadow of the Fakir of Ipi is always flitting in the background. There can be no surprise that as the war comes nearer to the borders of India the tribesmen, always more or less in a state of unrest, cause trouble, but attack by the Germans upon any part of the Islamic world would probably make the majority of the tribes eager to fight not against the British but the Germans. It might for the time being relieve us of any misgivings in that quarter.

The general problem of the northwest frontier of India is no new one in the story of the world. Similar conditions have always obtained where hardy mountaineers, living sparsely on barren lands, have had as near neighbors the richer peoples of the plains. The former will always incline to raid the latter. In essence the situation does not differ from that which existed for centuries between Scotland and England. The Romans found it necessary to build the great wall that stretches across Northumberland to check the raiding instincts of the Scots.

Finally the long and bitter struggle was composed when the English accepted a Scottish monarch as their king and the two countries were united under one rule.

No similar end can be looked for in India. We have to find some other means of winning the tribesmen to peaceful ways. The methods of the past on the frontier give no hope of any permanent settlement. Years ago when the tribesmen rose, punitive expeditions were sent, a number of men were killed, some villages burned, and after a peace that everybody knew would be temporary the Indian forces retired to their old positions. Later the policy was developed of road building in the frontier areas, enabling a better police system to be maintained. Though that has had a measure of success it has not done away with the necessity of frequent military movements in the tribal areas. The defense of the frontier is a continual drain upon the resources of India.

Never have I met a soldier who was convinced that there could be any permanent peace springing out of our varying policies in the past. Generally speaking, there were two schools of opinion, the one holding that we should leave the tribes to their own devices, retiring behind a strong defensive position and sealing the doorway into India. The other, and as I cannot help feeling the more enlightened, argued that the right course was to make terms

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with the tribesmen by which we would administer their country, introduce education and provide work. That is to approach the matter from the economic angle rather than the military, and is probably the only course that promises any permanent benefit. The tribesman when provided with a job is a good workman. Many of them were employed on making the roads through the passes, and some of these when they discovered the advantages of a more settled existence came into India as workers and even small contractors.

One comes near to the truth in saying that the northwest frontier problem is at base almost wholly economic. The tribesman is a raider because his own lands do not provide him with sufficient sustenance. His life amongst the barren mountains, with small areas of hardly won ground upon which cultivation is possible, is always one of hardship and semi-starvation. So some of the finest human material within the borders of the natural geographic India is always more or less in a state of revolt and ready to loot whenever the opportunity offers. And India itself has to sacrifice men and large sums of money in defending its borders against men who if they were brought into the circle of India's life would be a most valuable asset to the country.

There is no reason to believe that these tribesmen could not be brought within the orbit of India's life. A couple of generations spent in educative work would probably suffice to change their whole outlook, and enable us to change from the ceaseless waste of fighting them. A large expenditure would be required for a time, but in total it would be a flea-bite beside the cost of the present policy of advance into the country, punishment of the tribesmen, and subsequent retirement. That is a game that may continue endlessly and leave the problem much as it was at the beginning. It is time that Indian statesmanship turned its thoughts to better ways.

Add: War Jitters

With everyone talking of the probability of the United States' going to war, pretty soon there won't be any servants left in the city. Ours are just about ready to pack their things and go home to safety in the Ilocos provinces. A death in the family is no longer offered by servants as an excuse for leaving; it's the danger of war now. If our servants go, the only way to keep the next ones will be to send for them from a comparative unsafe province to go home to—Pangasian, for instance, being situated on the map the way it is and consequently offering not much more safety than Manila.

—"Catuca" in *The Philippine Magazine*

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That is the view of Hitler's chief organ in this country

A 'United' Europe Against Russia

The Free American and Deutscher Weckruf and Beobachter, New York Weekly

(Editor's Note: The italicized passages in the following article are published in bold type in the original.)

IN A FEW weeks there will no longer be a center of international bolshevism. Germany will be the savior of European culture. Churchill has taken his place on the side of the murderers of Christians.

The war front has turned toward the east, against bolshevism. The English plutocrats worked feverishly to egg Russia on against Germany at the time when the German armies were engaged in attacking England. Germany did not fall into this trap. Once again the German Army leadership can concentrate on one front. Exultantly Churchill greeted his new ally, who had sold himself for international gold. This is practical confirmation of the fact that communism is being used as a tool to secure power over the whole world to the House of Rothschild and its successors. The countless idealists in the Communist party in all countries have again been shamefully betrayed by their leaders. They let themselves be bought by vile Mammon so that the British rulers might stab in the back the German Socialism of Realization.

Surprising as the blow against Russia may appear to some readers, it is easily understood when one hears the howls of joy of the degenerate Churchill. The truth is that Churchill was enraged that his intrigues with the Anarchist Christ murderers were not long ago given recognition by Adolf Hitler. He was infuriated that Germany did not allow itself to be forced to fight on two fronts by those professional war disseminators. Powerless, he sits there on his island and promises Russia the same "help" that he promised to the other countries which committed suicide in order to maintain the international money-changers in power. Impudent as ever, he announces that he

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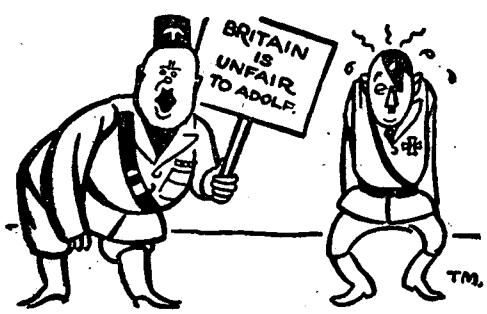
agrees with the aims of the godless gang in Moscow, for he knows that one can buy such characterless murderers of Christians with gold, but not German socialism.

Germany, the heart of Europe, strikes powerful blows against bolshevism, for the much-tried German people have sworn to exterminate it. Their weapons against the murderers of Moscow have been forged and are sharpened against all those who side with these international conspirators. Close to Germany march the unified peoples of the Continent in a common determination. Only England, subjugated beneath a crust of plutocrats, excludes itself from this great historical mission. Churchill has decided to go down with the hammer and sickle, and thus he becomes the greatest traitor to the English people.



—*News*, Toronto

Of course, the "*New Dealer*" at Washington will blow into Churchill's horn. But that will not affect the result of the war nor prevent the intelligent construction of the New Europe. It will harm only America.

Wake up, America. There is still time.

While English high finance during the first World War tried to forge an iron ring around the German people, Jewish capitalists worked feverishly to extract their Judas profits from the English. In New York there was the notorious Leon Trotsky (Bronstein) who, when the time was ripe, was financed by the Jewish banks of New York to go to Russia to carry out the greatest mass assassination of Russian Christians. Lenin, a half-Jew, came from exile in Switzerland to become the successor of Kerensky, who was not radical enough, in Jewish opinion.

Since that day of the last great European struggle, the history of Jewish bolshevism has been a continuous tale of terror and blood which has cost the lives of 30,000,000 God-fearing Russians. The Moscow Central was able to organize revolutions and revolts in all countries; these conspiracies were *international*, because in all countries, *including America, international Jews* were spreading the ideas of Karl Marx among the dissatisfied sections of the people.

In Germany, as well as in the rest of the Continent of Europe, this was possible only because the *egoism of English plutocrats*, which found its most disgusting expression in the Versailles Treaty, *broke the economic back* not only of Germany but of all the other interdependent peoples of the Continent. The Jewish world revolutionist, thanks to the *greed for power of the English plutocratic upper crust*, got his chance to impose his devastation and civil wars on the unfortunate peoples of the world.

Twenty-five years of revolution in

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Europe, twenty-five years of chaos, the decline of nations, hunger and death.

ENGLAND'S gold bought the ruling families of Norway, Holland, Rumania, Greece and other countries; these families were foul with disgusting diseases, and had gradually lost all contact with their subjects. . . . But a strong, united Greater Germany destroyed Jewish bolshevism and gave the German people the Socialism of Realization. . . . When hunger was ended in Germany—and that only because the German people threw off the chains of the Versailles Treaty—the *Jewish incendiaries of world revolution* left, to arrive as "poor" refugees in great numbers in America, and to begin from here their baiting of the New Germany. And, at the same time, the *British world rulers* attempted a new blockade of Germany. Any means was good enough for the scoundrels in London. They used kings and emperors, presidents and regents, Zulu-Kaffirs and bushmen; in short, anyone whom they could turn to their purpose of plundering and despoiling Germany and the rest of Europe. *Our America also fell victim to this confidence game.* They want to make us believe that "democracy" should be saved, but the truth is that we are digging our own grave by fighting against the peoples of the European Continent. By the order of the Bank of England, Churchill says that he has taken Stalin into his arms as a friend and helper. *And our President says the same thing.*

We of German origin have for years exposed the plans for world conquest of the international monied Jews. But few of our American compatriots understood us until a few days ago, when Washington's promise to help the murderers at Moscow proved that the world-enslaving high finance uses bolshevism to open the way to complete subjugation of and rule over all the peoples of the world.

But we have every reason to *thank Germany for the beginning of the reconstruction of a new, happy and free Europe—free from international capital and Jewish bolshevism.*

America could also be free, if the people would assert themselves.

WHAT is the danger to our America, which is so much talked about? English propaganda tries to tell us that it is Adolf Hitler's Germany. *That is as ridiculous as it is untrue.*

The first and greatest danger for the people of this country is their own ignorance. If the general public were informed of the causes of the present war in Europe, their sympathy would be on the side of Germany for purely humane reasons. But the present German Reich needs neither moral nor material support from 4,000 miles away, because it has won the right to existence by its own strength. For that reason alone, it is dangerous and disadvantageous for America to live in enmity with a strong German people, particularly as this enmity has been brought about at the instigation of characterless elements.

True Americans have never wanted this enmity. Assassins, Jewish Bolsheviks and international swindlers ar-

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rived from Germany after Adolf Hitler's accession to power and made fantastic prophecies. . . . Of course, it is not quite clear to our American compatriots why we should now fight on the side of Jewish bolshevism against a united Europe, particularly since America has already suffered enough from Moscow's plans for world conquest. But, if the people had read and studied our newspaper, *The Free American*, their knowledge would have put an end to the activity of *foreign war instigators*. Just as the Russian natives have no interest in ruling over America, no white American has any desire to subjugate Europe. *No European people has any designs on the Western Hemisphere.* This alleged danger is only manufactured in our country by those elements who confuse British piracy with American ideals, or who desire the Jewish world revolution of bolshevism. *The capitalist exploiter and the murderer of Christians are enemies of every healthy national life.* Those are the circles in America that contributed to bringing about this war and have marked themselves as the *enemies of the American Christian population.*

Whoever pretends that a war might be of advantage to America is either a fraud or belongs in an insane asylum. He who says that Adolf Hitler is a dictator and that he wants to conquer America is purposely lying to our native population. *We tell you today that it is not so* and we maintain against all argument that in his campaigns for the freedom of the European Continent all the nations, large and small, stand united behind him. His support from these peoples is certainly far greater than any President Roosevelt could muster, as he says himself, to deliver Europe again either *to the British exploiters or to the Jewish Bolshevists.*

This typical New Deal enterprise is the only danger our country or our people need fear, because, first, *it has no chance of a successful conclusion* and, second, it did not grow out of the healthy American soil. It smells too much of Baruch, Rosenmann, Rabbi Wise, Cohen, Pepper, etc. We have few enough statesmen in Washington but plenty of dilettantes who have made themselves hated throughout the world, for which the whole American people will later have to pay. If we had sold our souls to Germany—as is unjustly charged against us—we could not do better than demand the immediate entrance of America into the War against Europe. In that case we would help Pepper and his allies conjure up the great catastrophe, for we very well know that such an enterprise would tear the American Union into pieces before the insane plan of reconquering the New Europe from Hitler could have the slightest success.

To Get Cigarettes—

Anglomaniacs can always get cigarettes, but those loyal to the New Order often have to go without.

—*Fritt Folk*, Quisling Daily, Oslo

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The German-Russian War

(Editor's Note: The attack by Germany upon the U.S.S.R., launched June 22, produced several notable flipflops in political reasoning everywhere, and for good measure it added a few more intolerable ironies to the world situation. Perhaps the most interesting performance, in the field of high-trapeze work in the ideological stratosphere, was that executed by the Communists. Literally over-night, Britain and the United States ceased to be imperialistic monsters, but by some process of political alchemy, or whirling dervish exercise, became partners in the Kremlin's crusade to save democracy; meanwhile, Hitler, to use his own words, set out to save Europe from communism, with whose high priest he had been collaborating effectively for twenty-two months.

In the following symposium, The Living Age *presents the tsarist (i.e., authoritarian), pro-Soviet, and liberal viewpoints on the Russo-German war as expressed by three Russian-language newspapers published in this country. In addition, there follows a part of the appeal issued by the Communist party of the United States, after the war began, the reactions of two Swedish newspapers and a survey of Chinese press opinion.)*

The Tsarist Solution

Rossiya, Tsarist Daily, New York

A REVOLUTIONARY régime in the form of a military dictatorship must be immediately established in Russia. That dictatorship must without delay proclaim the re-establishment of Russia on her thousand-year-old Orthodox principles, and this régime without loss of time must outlaw the Soviet Government, the Comintern and the Communist party.

At a time when, in the name of the satanic forces of the International and in the name of interests foreign to the Russian people and to Russia, millions of our brothers are now at war, it must be firmly remembered that the most sacred and patriotic duty of the Russian people is to liberate their enslaved country from the anti-Christ machinations of an alien International.

No matter what appeals to "patriotism," or exhortations to "save the Fatherland" or calls for "the defense of freedom" are made by the Communists in another attempt to deceive the people, the armed people of Russia must turn their weapons only against the régime of their oppressor, which is the Soviet Government.

The existence of the revolutionary,

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Communist Government in Russia has been a constant challenge to all the national [Fascist] world. From the first day of its sanguinary seizure of power in 1917 to June 22 of this year, when at last the thunderbolt blows of the anti-Bolshevik forces fell on the Communist forces of disintegration, the Soviet Government has been an aggressor against the entire world. This aggression against the national, anti-Bolshevik world was carried out either in the form of revolutionary espionage and conspiracy, or in the form of open attack. In the latter case, it is sufficient to recall the armed interference of the Comintern in the affairs of Manchukuo, China, Spain, Finland and, finally, the chicanery of its aid to Britain, carried on under the cover of the "neutrality" bought by the German-Soviet friendship pact.

We have addressed the enslaved Russian people and the Red Army many times, warning them of the inevitable and shattering blow that would fall on Soviet Russia, a blow that for its own purposes was deliberately provoked by the Stalin régime of butchers. These Communist fanatics and maniacs, incapable of comprehending the genuine interests of the Russian people, have long prepared their escape.

Knowing full well that on behalf of the predatory interests of Britain and the international ism, the non-Russian Soviet Government was plotting to deliver over the Rusian people to destruction and defeat, we have repeatedly called on the Red Army and the enslaved Russian people to hasten the overthrow of Stalin and his butcher-cohorts. We held that only a genuinely Russian and national régime could reach a sincere and sensible understanding with its great neighbors—with reborn and patriotic Germany in the West, and national, patriotic Japan in the East. In the past few years, we have urgently warned our enslaved brothers that only by overthrowing the satanic forces of the Comintern, and by reaching a brotherly accord with the states of the national, anti-Bolshevik bloc, could they save Russia from a bloody catastrophe, to which Stalin's policy would inevitably lead.

Alas, all time limits expired, and the Russian people were unable to overthrow the Communist criminals by their own efforts. So that now, as in 1917, we see the Russian people led to slaughter for the sake of powers inimical to Russia.

We therefore call on the commanders of the enslaved Russian army, commanders who have come from the ranks of the peasants, workers and intellectuals, to launch a struggle of liberation from their non-Russian government, and against the Communist International and all those who have oppressed the orthodox Russian people for twenty-four years. The national movement of liberation must proceed under the holy cross and the Russian [Tsarist] tricolor.

THE first act of the new régime in international relations must be the immediate cessation of needless bloodshed at the front, and the conclusion of peace with national, anti-Bolshevik Germany, with which liberated, Orthodox and indivisible Russia will then

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conclude an unbreakable alliance of friendship and unity.

The Russian people must realize that the less their precious blood is spilt and the quicker they overthrow their oppressive government of international tyrants and conclude a friendly and chivalrous peace with the anti-Bolshevik bloc of states, the sooner will Russia again become again a national state and a great power.

All the Russian people—except, of course, these alien Bolsheviks and their sympathizers—consider the German action as the inevitable retribution on the Communist beast, and in no way an act of war against Russia itself. Upon the wisdom, gallantry and nobility of the German people and their leader, Chancellor Hitler, depends the rapidity with which, by their honorable conduct, they can win their way into the hearts of two hundred million Russians.

We believe that great Germany, who has also felt the yoke of the International, will bring to enslaved Russia a genuine national liberation, and will offer the hand of brotherhood and everlasting friendship.

The World Must Rescue the Soviet Union

Russky Golos, Pro-Soviet Daily, New York

IT HAS happened. Twenty-two months after the conclusion of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact, Hitler has broken the agreement and attacked the Soviet Union. He has realized in this manner the long-held dream of many imperialists. Not for nothing did Hitler in his lying, impudent speech on the opening of the war announce through the mouth of Goebbels that "his problem was to save Europe and thus safeguard everyone." This speech coincides with the statement of Hitler's messenger, Rudolf Hess, on landing in England, that he had "come to save humanity."

The People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, V. M. Molotov, speaking to all the population of the Soviet Union, opposed the truth to Hitler's lies when he said that "Germany has attacked the Soviet Union in spite of our policy of peace. Hence, Fascist Germany must be considered the aggressor."

This war was called by Molotov a war for the fatherland—a war to be waged by all the Soviet people for fatherland, honor and freedom. A war for the fatherland was waged by the Russian people against Napoleon who, having subjugated Europe, invaded Russia to "save" the Europe which he himself had crushed. Napoleon broke his neck in the Russia of that day, thanks to the unyielding firmness of the people. The same road is now taken by today's caricature of Napoleon. Such is the historical parallel. To carry the comparison farther, we may add that one of the causes of Napoleon's downfall was the rise in wrath of the peoples he had subjugated. These peoples, learning of Napoleon's defeat on the fields of Russia, overthrew his rule

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and trampled him down together with his victories. A similar fate awaits Hitler, who has pushed his nose into the Soviet Union to "save Europe."

For Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union is aggression against a country that is the firm support of the peace, freedom and independence not only of its own people, but of the German and American peoples, and all other peoples. Everyone knows that the Soviet Union, while maintaining its policy of neutrality toward both camps in this imperialist war, at the same time assisted the countries and peoples that struggled for their independence and freedom. It has helped the Spanish people. It now helps the heroic Chinese people. It freed the peoples of the Western Ukraine, White Russia, Bessarabia and the Baltic countries. And now the Soviet Union, which did not allow itself to be drawn into the imperialist war, is waging a struggle of liberation from Hitlerism, that last monstrous offspring of a dying imperialism.

The peoples of the earth know this. Their eyes are turned toward the Soviet Union with love and hope. The Soviet Union has for years called on all countries to form a pact of collective security against aggression, but the Munich imperialists would have none of it. This was admitted by Winston Churchill in his speech on the German-Soviet war when he spoke of "the terrible war machine which we and the rest of the civilized world so foolishly . . . allowed the Nazi gangsters to build up, year by year, from almost nothing." This rather tardy confession has perhaps retained some significance in view of the activity of the Hesses in England and America to "save humanity" at the expense of the Soviet Union.

But the toiling masses of the people of Britain and the toiling masses of the people of America, as well as the peoples of all other countries, must thoroughly grasp the fact that the Soviet Union is carrying on a struggle to the death against that offspring of imperialism, Hitlerism.

Therefore all peoples—the British, the American peoples, and those of all other countries—must co-operate with the Soviet Union in this decisive struggle. They must fight all attempts to aid Hitler in his shameless attack on the Soviet Union, because they know that the Soviet Union fights for a people's peace, a truly democratic peace, based on the liberation and independence of all countries.

Revive Freedom in Russia

Novoyè Russkoye Slovo, Moderate Liberal Daily, New York

THIS is a war of Germany against Russia. This is not a "crusade against bolshevism," but a war directed against a great country and its people; a war to bring about its partition, and its subjugation to the Germans and the Japanese; a war to ravage and to loot Russia.

This newspaper has always waged a merciless struggle against the Com-

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munist dictatorship in Russia, and the co-operation of the Kremlin with Hitler. We held that sooner or later Germany would attack Russia and that Russia must fight the totalitarians in the same camp with the democracies. Some other opponents of bolshevism thought that Stalin's policy was subtle and profound, that he used Hitler almost like a tool and that he has advanced Russia's national interests in co-operating with Germany. We have never taken such assertions seriously. Nor, on the other hand, have we been among those who egged on Britain and France against Russia in the early part of the war, since we believed that that is precisely what Hitler wanted. As for Germany's territorial "concessions" to the Soviets, we have always called them negligible and temporary, given merely for purposes of deception.

In the crisis that preceded the war, we did not think that Hitler was bluffing. We foresaw the possibility that Hitler might attack Russia before he went all-out against England in the great battle of the Atlantic. We stood for the defense of Russia because we linked that defense with the survival of the democracies of the world, while drawing a sharp line of distinction between the policy of the Kremlin and the true interests of the country.

We said that Hitler's initiative dominated the will of the Kremlin and that only on Hitler did the issue of war or peace with Russia depend. Now Hitler has made his choice.

Our present position for the defense of Russia issues from a clear understanding of what Hitler wants there.

During the weeks that preceded the war there were many rumors of demands reportedly made by Hitler upon the Kremlin. Among these demands was one that seemed fantastic to some people. This called for the withdrawal of the Soviets from the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia, from the territory taken from Finland and Rumania, and for the partial demobilization of the Red Army.

We did not think these demands fantastic. All of Hitler's eastern policy was based on this program. It was not a new program. It was the program of Wilhelm II and it was sanctioned by Lenin—with Stalin's concurrence—against the opposition of anti-German bolsheviks, when he signed the treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918.

The main points of that treaty provided that Russia relinquish all claims to Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, that she recognize the independence of Finland and the Ukraine, and hand over Batum, Erivan, Kars and Ardayan in the Caucasus to the Turks. However, these four Caucasian towns were withheld from the Turks by the then independent Caucasian republics until the bolsheviks moved into the Caucasus in 1921 and handed over Kars and Ardayan to Turkey.

The remaining German terms were scrupulously fulfilled by the bolsheviks. They might have been German officials sitting in the Kremlin.

AT THAT time, the international atmosphere in which the bolsheviks carried out Germany's eastern policy was far less favorable to the Germans than it is now. In the West and in the

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Balkans at that time were the mighty armies of Britain, France, the United States, Italia, Serbia, and the rest. Japan was one of the Allies.

Now, there is nothing of that left. There are no armies in Europe except those hostile to Russia. And the U.S.S.R., hemmed in between German-occupied Europe and Japan, Germany's ally, is faced with practically the same demands as those to which Stalin consented in 1918.

Moral, material and military aid to Russia is possible. Even direct help is possible, if Russia succeeds in prolonging its defense and thus allows Britain and the United States to win the Battle of the Atlantic.

But to have freedom and popular control of the government, Russia must have a government of real patriots. It is necessary to remove criminal and stupid leaders. Countless jails and concentration camps must be opened to free men guilty of nothing but opposition to the insane policy of Stalin and his henchmen.

We wish for a Russian victory. But we know that successful resistance can only be achieved by a revival of freedom within the country. It is this freedom and this victory that we wish for.

Sweden Clings to Neutrality

Nordisk Tidende, Norwegian-Language Weekly, Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE first Swedish press reaction to the German-Soviet war is to exhort the Swedish people to stand together and to keep on the alert. At the same time, the papers point to the seriousness of Sweden's political and military situation, with the new turn of events.

Social-Demokraten of Stockholm emphasizes that Sweden is independent in every respect and intends to continue so. "We have built up a strong defense, exclusively in order to protect ourselves. It will not endanger anybody who does not harm us. We are united behind this defense and look upon it as a guarantee of our safety."

Svenska Dagbladet, also of the capital, feels that Germany may be confident of conquering Russia within a short time: "It is hardly possible that Russia will be able to withstand the German onslaught for long. But what is less assured is that this campaign will bring Germany the results upon which she is determined."

Together with other papers, *Svenska Dagbladet* asks the Swedish people not to pass judgment upon Finland's actions in the present situation.

The fact that only members of the Swedish navy and air defense forces have been recalled from leave and that no mobilization order has been issued to the Army, indicates to *Morgenblatt* that those responsible for Sweden's safety do not consider it seriously threatened.

An article published in *Social-Demokraten* only a few hours before the new conflict started, may be regarded as typical of the general Swedish attitude. It states: "If new fronts are

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formed in Northern and Eastern Europe, Sweden's position is bound to be affected after a time. But we intend to stick to our policy of neutrality as long as humanly possible. We do not want to be mixed up in this gigantic clash. In this respect, our nation stands united."

Chinese See Germany Lost

By W. M.

A SURVEY of the Chinese press in mid-June indicated that Soviet Russia would rejoin the "democratic front" in an effort to resist aggression, with the belief that Russia would achieve final victory. Thus, the *Central Daily News*, official Chungking Government organ, predicted editorially that eventually Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany would come to war, and that Germany could not escape the responsibility of challenging Russia in an armed showdown. Continuing, the journal said that the Axis Powers included four countries in the anti-Axis front—the United States, Great Britain, China and Soviet Russia as their common enemies. That, it was concluded, was the primary purpose of the Tripartite Alliance previously endorsed by the Anti-Comintern Pact.

After the outbreak of the German-Russian war, the independent *China Times* said that Japan might adopt a "watchful waiting" policy following the dramatic change in the European war, with the observation that the long-smouldering anti-Soviet elements in Japan probably would again come to life and advocate a northward push against Outer Mongolia and Eastern Siberia. At the same time the Chinese army organ, *Sao Tang Pao*, published in Chungking, reiterated China's determination to fight on with the willingness to support the growing international resistance against aggression, the army paper at the same time urging both Russia and the Anglo-Saxon powers to deal Japan such a crushing blow as to remove Nippon's threat in the Pacific.

Meanwhile, *Ta Kung Pao*, the most influential daily of China (which was awarded a medal of distinction by the University of Missouri last May as one of the most outstanding newspapers in a war-torn world), said that Japanese statesmen were more confused than ever as a result of the Nazi-Bolshevik war, and that the probable effects on the Far Eastern situation were apt to be much to the disadvantage of Japan. Said this paper:

"Just as Japan was wavering over the question of a southern push she is now confronted with the problem of a northern expedition. This places her in more of a dilemma than ever. To abandon the program of southward expansion would shut her off from the strategic supplies in this region, while the failure to attack Russia would mean the loss of a golden opportunity as well as breaking German faith in her. Evidently it is impossible for her to undertake both."

However, the *Ta Kung Pao* believed "Japan will eventually take the Ger-

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man side for the two strong cliques in the capital, the anti-Soviet clique and the pro-German clique, are now in agreement as to which course to take." The paper further predicted the fall of the Konoye Cabinet (which occurred July 16) on the ground that neither the Prime Minister nor Foreign Minister Matsuoka had been able to lead the nation. "As the world drama unfolds, Japan is left as a spectator, deprived of every opportunity to take the initiative. Dissatisfaction will soon breed a strong movement against the cabinet. A change in cabinet, however, will not solve Japan's problem."

The Triple Somersault in the U. S.

IN the last week of June, the National Committee of the Communist party of the United States issued an appeal asking, among other exhortations, the intervention of the United States against Hitler.

That appeal, signed by William Z. Foster, as national chairman, and Robert Minor, as acting secretary, read in part as follows:

"Defend America by giving full aid to the Soviet Union, Great Britain and all nations who fight against Hitler!

"Full and unlimited collaboration of the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union to bring about the military defeat of fascism!

"A government policy of democratic struggle against fascism!

"Down with the appeasers of Hitlerism—the conspirators of a new Munich betrayal!

"For co-operation of all the peoples of the Americas against Hitlerism! Support the struggles of the Latin-American peoples for democratic freedom and national independence!

"Stop monopoly and profiteering!

"End anti-Semitism! Stop the persecution of the foreign-born!

"Stop all government attacks on the Communist party! Release Earl Browder and all working-class political prisoners!

"Build the Communist party, the party that stands in the forefront of the people's fight against Hitlerism and for socialism!

"Forward to a world-wide people's front against Hitler fascism for the

Envy of the U. S. S. R.

Russia is a great empire with the varied interests of 150,000,000 people. Is it not obvious that outsiders can hardly understand the motive power which drives this great entity toward better progress?

All pacts concluded by Russia with other people have one common purpose: to insure that the planning of Russian national economy and defense shall be completed without being disturbed by a preventive war.

Outsiders are jealous of this peaceful development.

—*Izvestia*, Moscow (before June 22, 1941)

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defense of the Soviet Union!"

For purposes of comparison with the foregoing, it is interesting and perhaps educational to recall the statement issued by the same National Committee of the Communist party of the United States, in September 1939, after Hitler had signed a non-aggression pact with Stalin and, with him, was then engaged in levelling Poland. The statement, also signed by William Z. Foster, and published under the caption "Keep America Out of the Imperialist War!" read in part:

"This is not a war against fascism. . . . Allow no single measure to be taken for purpose of giving American help to either side of the imperialist conflict. . . . Find the most effective means of keeping out of the war, without regard whether these means incidentally happen to confer some small advantage to one side or the other."

Three months before, in June 1939, William Foster issued a pamphlet in which he asserted that "the United States cannot possibly isolate itself from the Fascist threat. . . . The American people, to preserve their own peace and freedom, must actively support other democratic nations in their efforts to checkmate the Fascist barbarians."

No More Enigmas

Abroad, Vichy at long last puts the cards on the table. The men of Vichy have been permitted to bluff too long. It is strange, but we British can bury our heads like the ostrich simply by using the little word "enigma." Vichy was an enigma. So, too, were Stalin and his new friends at Tokyo. There has been nothing mysterious about the policies of Vichy, Moscow and Tokyo—they have been unmistakably "realistic." There are other capitals where the enigma theory is at present being professed. The answer will be the same. But it is astonishing that we should have taken a year to denounce Vichy and replace the velvet glove by the mailed fist. It is true that sentiment toward our former ally has been an important factor—we still, and always shall, let our heart guide our hand so long as circumstances permit—but it might well be asked, "If we had adopted a stiff line toward Vichy right at the beginning would not the waning strength of the aged Marshal have been revived and the scales weighted in our favor?" Hitler's bait of an unoccupied territory in a conquered country has proved irresistable.

—*Free Europe*, London

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Where might they be today if they had continued the fight overseas?

A Balance Sheet for Frenchmen

La France Libre, De Gaullist Organ, Santiago, Chile

(Editor's Note: "Free France" publications are beginning to appear in countries far removed from the defeated homeland. The article which follows places in juxtaposition the current plight of France against an outline of what might conceivably have happened had no German-French armistice been signed.)

What Has Happened

a) All continental France is occupied, or under enemy control, with more German uniforms here and some less there, but the Nazis are in command everywhere and are looting the whole country.

•

b) Some of our best ships have been destroyed, part of our navy is immobilized (the *Richelieu* at Dakar, the *Bearn* at Martinique), other ships have been disarmed in Alexandria.

•

c) The bulk of our air force has been surrendered to the enemy, hundreds of new airplanes have been abandoned in Martinique, and many of our airplanes in North

If We Had Not Signed—

a) All continental France would probably be occupied, but the enemy would have had to assume full responsibility for all their acts.

•

b) Our powerful navy would be intact, and would now be safeguarding the integrity of the French Empire. It would aid in the slow strangling of the enemy, awaiting the hour to participate in offensive operations to free France.

•

c) Our air force would have reorganized quietly throughout the Empire, and each day become more powerful thanks to increasing deliveries from America; our valiant corps of aviators would now be

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Africa, now piloted by Germans, are bombing our Allies at Gibraltar.

•

d) All our war matérial has been surrendered to the enemy, and our army reduced to a police force under the supervision of the enemy.

•

e) We have no free communication with our North African possessions, and the Axis is threatening Alexandria and Suez. The Germans in Rumania have seized extensive French interests, and now are threatening the Dardanelles. The French flag has vanished from the seas. The Italian Lati-Condor Airline to South America has replaced the Air-France line.

•

f) The Italians control Tunis, Beyrut and Djibuti, the Germans are stretching out their hands for French Equatorial and West Africa, and Spain covets our Morocco.

•

g) Our empire is blockaded and disorganized, North Africa, West Africa and French Somaliland are dominated by the enemy. French Indo-China faces alone the threat of invasion by the Japanese and Siamese; Madagascar, the Antilles and French Guiana are isolated, and all are ruined economically except Equatorial Africa, which stands bravely at the head of the de Gaulle movement of liberation.

•

h) The Vichy government is subject to the will of the victor, compelled

inflicting increasingly severe losses on our enemy, and operating from relatively safe bases abroad.

•

d) A large part of our continental army would long since have been reorganized in our African possessions, and our forces in the East would be undiminished in power.

•

e) From Gibraltar to Suez, the Dardanelles and Corfu (the key to the Adriatic)—all the Mediterranean and its outlets would now be under the undisputed control of the Allies. The entire Near East would comprise an Allied block, powerfully assisting the U.S.S.R. today.

•

f) The Allies today would unquestionably control all of Africa, from which the Italians would have easily been displaced; and we would be in Tripoli and in command of Libya.

•

g) Our vast Empire would be free and united, removed from all dan-

—*Time and Tide*, London

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to give to the nation and Empire orders that are devised by the Master, who thus opens the door to future treasons and venality.

•

i) Worst of all, the French are ruled by a fictitious government which deceives the world about the real sentiments of France—and France itself and French public opinion of its real duties. The nation and its Empire are paralyzed and victims of defeatism and the most depressing moral crisis; the people's conscience is truly torn between the appeal of Vichy, and the powerful appeal of immortal France.

ger from Africa, with the seat of government there as well the center of resistance of all French forces.

•

h) A free government, on French soil overseas, would still be fulfilling its treaty obligations, independently directing the destinies of the nation in keeping with its traditions.

•

i) One hundred million French citizens, now stronger and more determined than ever as the result of the ordeal, would be united in the will to live and in a strong faith in our future.

Knights of the Air

The be-plumed horseman, in multi-colored uniform, overflowing with chivalry and dashing heroically at the enemy, is a relic of the past. The cavalry of today gallops on rubber wheels or caterpillar treads. Pictures of the terrifying centaurs of old come to life now in a form a thousandfold more deadly than the early warrior on horseback; these modern-day centaurs spit death from half a dozen heads. The poor horse is now of no value in battle, nor any longer the symbol of romantic contest between chivalrous knights. Incidentally, the words chivalry and cavalry stem from the same Latin vulgate, *caballum* (the horse), *caballo* in Spanish and Portuguese, *cavallo* in Italian and *cheval* in French.

But a new generation of knights, who in some degree partake of the unique chivalry that was the particular creed of the knight on the horse, has been born in this war. He is the knight of the air, the *cavallero* of combat in the clouds, where personal courage still has its value and meaning. That quality of individual heroism is revived in these knights who ride the winged steeds of the air. As long as they have their beng, there is hope for humanity.

—Luis de Zulueta in *El Tiempo*, Bogatá

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They get a taste of the Axis' familiar prelude to invasion

The Swiss Know What to Expect

THE NEW LEBENSRAUM

Neue Volkszeitung, Anti-Nazi Weekly, New York

A PROPAGANDA "war of nerves" against the four million people of Switzerland has recently been launched by Berlin and Rome. The question arising now in the minds of most of the Swiss is whether their compact little nation is next on the Axis list.

Since the beginning of this war, the Swiss have entertained no illusions over the possibility of attack by the totalitarian powers. This was evidenced by the rapid mobilization of the Swiss army reserves in the first days of September 1939, a move which by no means was a "token" alignment of the country's armed forces. From the Rhine to the Lake of Geneva it is fully recognized that Hitler regards the German-language areas of the Swiss Confederation as belonging to the German lebensraum. Then, also well known to the Swiss is Mussolini's appetite for the Canton of Ticino and for the high plateau-valleys of Grison and Vallais. Ticino and its immense water-power facilities are claimed by the Duce in the name of *Italianità*—the Italians' linguistic lebensraum, as it were. And for reasons of strategy he wants other non-Italian districts adjoining Tecino.

Until Hitler invaded the Balkans, the Axis' labors in Switzerland were limited to the organization of a strong fifth column. But once Yugoslavia was overrun by the Germans and Italians, the propaganda ministries of Berlin and Rome launched an open campaign, a variety of the war of nerves, against the Swiss. Late in the Spring, the Rome radio began making brutal threats against Italy's small, brave neighbor, and almost simultaneously the Berlin radio also went to work in earnest against Switzerland.

Almost needless to say, the over-

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whelming majority of the Swiss people is opposed to the Axis. The Swiss hailed the heroic resistance of the Greeks against the Italians with the same enthusiasm and sympathy with which they followed the opposition of the Finns to the Russians more than a year ago. Moreover, most of the Swiss did not disguise their hearty approval of the revolution in Yugoslavia this Spring resulting in the downfall of the appeasement cabinet at Belgrade.

On the other hand, since the collapse of France the Swiss press has been less outspoken in its hostility to the Axis, because it has a realistic appreciation of the fact that the country is now completely surrounded by totalitarian neighbors, among whom France must be included. Though the papers have not changed their basic viewpoint, they now write on the whole in more reserved terms—without, however, affecting daily Nazi accusations of "provocation and outspoken aggressiveness" against the Axis. But during the attack on Yugoslavia, several papers threw caution to the winds and expressed their opinions in undisguised terms.

This brought on a violent attack by the *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung*, whose editor warned the Swiss press that "it cannot continue in this way." Two days after the ruthless bombardment of the open city of Belgrade, he wrote that the people of Basle, Zurich and Berne should bear in mind the consequences incurred by an antagonistic attitude toward the Third Reich. Hitler would no longer suffer the Swiss press to maintain a consistently pro-British attitude; in "friendly states" neither individuals nor newspapers could use language provocatively unfriendly toward the Nazis. The next day, an official Italian communiqué reiterated this Berlin commentary. Not quite so brutal in tone but no less obvious as to its essence was Goebbels' own statement, made just before Easter. He had invited eleven Swiss journalists on a tour of Germany to inspect the blessings of the New Order. From the private remarks of his guests, the Minister of Propaganda seems to have gained the impression that Switzerland is not eager to fall within the Nazi sphere. This led him to deliver a sermon in which he said, literally, "If Switzerland has decided to remain outside of our orbit under any circumstances, I can't prevent it, but in that case Switzerland should remember that it will be excluded from all the advantages which the New Order will give to Europe."

THE answer of one of the most influential and courageous of the Swiss political weeklies, the Berne *Nation*, was: "We hope that Dr. Goebbels will keep his word. That would be the most beautiful message possible for our country, which has only one desire—to be left alone."

The Axis propagandists then brought out their heavy propaganda cannon. From Rome, broadcast Ezio Mario Grey, member of the Italian so-called Parliament and of the Supreme Fascist Council. Grey is generally considered Mussolini's megaphone, so his speech had official significance; it consisted of a chain of hysterical insults, not ordinarily used between nations

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not at war. Like the Germans, Grey threatened: "Your neutrality is not a divine privilege, and so under no circumstances can it be considered eternal." He held the Swiss authorities responsible for doing nothing about the "criminal outbursts of the press," which are "full of tendentious and false reports" and "treat Italy's victories with extreme flippancy." The Swiss press, he complained, always reported English success in detail and were almost jubilant over the fall of Addis Abbaba. Such "obvious partiality," he said, was not restricted to the press. At carnival time, there were manifestations in a number of cities of insulting derision of Italy and the totalitarian system. "All this leads the Axis Powers to realize that Switzerland has no intention of accepting and subordinating itself to the New Order which is meant for the whole European Continent." But—and here the Italian's voice almost broke with fury—"neither Hitler nor Mussolini will allow the survival of such a dangerous nest of conspirators of the old, defeated world." [The same thought was expressed by the *Völkischer Beobachter* of Munich: "In this revolution, the greatest in modern history, does Switzerland consider itself an island whose inhabitants can continue to watch calmly what is happening in the turbulent seas by which they are surrounded?"]

SIMILAR speeches have been included in the preparations for each attack on a small country. The Swiss people fully realize the seriousness of their situation. But in spite of being caught in the iron vise of an inimical world, they have not lessened their determination to defend themselves, their democracy and their aspirations for freedom. Every citizen is fully aware that their chances of successful defense against mechanized armies have been greatly decreased by the disappearance of protection from the French flank and that in case of defeat there is no line of retreat for the Swiss Army. But the Swiss are united that, in case of attack, they will fight to the last man on every line.

If Hitler passes the Rhine toward Switzerland, all railroads, all roads through the mountain passes, the Gotthard, Lötschberg and Simplon tunnels—principal means of communication between Germany and Italy—will be blown up. And the Führer knows it. That is perhaps the reason he still hesitates to unleash his tanks and bombers against Switzerland.

The Swiss Carry On

By W. W. Schutz

Contemporary Review, London Topical Monthly

THE Munich crisis caused nervousness amongst the Swiss as well as in every other European country. That eventful Autumn of 1938 saw the little state guarded by the Alps taking to arms in order to give weight to its proclamation that Swiss neutrality and independence would be

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safeguarded by the entire people. At the beginning of the War the position of Switzerland was still comparatively secure. For the balance of power in its most strict meaning was felt at that crossroads of European highways more strongly than anywhere else.

The situation changed, however, the moment France collapsed and Italy entered the War. The Swiss were able to put half a million men into the field. They also had created a small but well trained air force. But the lesson of the Polish and the French Air Forces showed that mastery in the air was, after all, dependent on a sufficient quota of fighters and bombers as compared with the enemy.

In addition to the immediate strategic and psychological consequences of the events of May and June of last year, the entry of Italy into the War completed the isolation of the small Alpine country. Hardly could the Swiss have forgotten Fascist propaganda twists according to which the few hundred thousand Italian-speaking Swiss in the Ticino and the Romance speaking mountain-inhabitants of Grison constituted Italian "living space," "irredenta" or whatever the words may be. It was somewhat courageous of the inhabitants of Grison to have insisted upon their Romance language being acknowledged by the Federation as the fourth official language—in addition to German, French, Italian. Those sunburned men and women of Davos and the Engadin refused to be regarded as a sort of lost Italian tribe. They placed themselves, their tradition and their language side by side with the others, including the Italians. Rome had taken note of it, and was not likely to forget it.

During the Summer months of 1940 the country, in spite of its frantic love of liberty and independence, felt deserted, lost, delived into the hands of the conquerors. Only a tiny strip of frontier running from Geneva to Mont Blanc on the south-western corner of the lake of Geneva leads into territory not under direct control of the Axis—into Vichy France. (Switzerland recognized the Pétain régime and in the second half of November, 1940, a Vichy-French Ambassador, Count Robert de la Baume, appeared in Berne.)

DESPITE the imminence of danger, despite the heavy pressure upon Switzerland as exerted by Nazis and Fascists from Berlin and Rome alike, despite the precarious position of Vichy-France, the country has managed to survive, and to hold its ground politically, militarily, economically, and, perhaps the most important item, intellectually and morally. The great change in attitude inside the country was effected by the glorious deeds of the Greeks and afterward by the "turning of the tables" in North Africa. The effect which the stand of the Greeks and their victorious progress against the Italians made upon small nations in general, upon the Swiss in particular, can hardly be overestimated. Twenty years of Fascist scare-propaganda and all the milliard of lira spent on it went down at Koritza.

Whatever Switzerland had achieved in a technical sense in order to maintain her independence became genuinely valid again only after the Swiss

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burgher and peasant, the Swiss rifleman and airman, the women and girls had taken heart again, had found new ground for confidence. It is, therefore, against this background of lost and regained pride that the powerful organization of the little country which has been built up in order to defend its own has to be acknowledged. It is only too true also that the material situation has changed. Mountain warfare in Albania and desert warfare in Libya have already taxed the power of Fascist Italy beyond its capacity and probably beyond repair. The neighbors of the Italians can sleep quietly again. But also the geographical situation has once more changed in favor of Switzerland. Hitler's commitments in the Mediterranean make the communications over the Alps more vital than ever before. The Swiss, commanding two of the most important passes and railway lines—the Gotthard and the Simplon—are once more in the position of being able to say "no" to any exaggerated demands of the Führer by threatening to blow up these tunnels. This threat, supported by a respectable army, and by the constant need of Hitler's doubtful ally for help and still more help, places the guardians of the Alpine passes in an almost unassailable position. Little use the Nazi army could make of holding Zürich and the lower hills of the Jura, while a few divisions of Swiss snipers could hold the peaks of the Alps for an almost indefinite period.

This position, however, much as it has improved, can only be turned into an asset because there is a state and a people who insist on being free. This determination of a few million men has found expression in a deliberate policy turning the country into a sort of besieged fortress. For although Switzerland is legally neutral and does not participate in the fighting, the world in flames round her frontiers sweeps over the small rough territory and forces the people to talk of the war as if they were actually participating. And are they not? Everybody in Switzerland speaks of the war and its grim necessities, and they do not mean the war in Africa or on the Channel by doing so, but they speak of it as of their own situation.

THE country mobilized its man-power in the Summer of 1939, and ever since it has maintained a considerable armed force under the flag. Every man is liable to some form of military or other national service, and the peace-time strength of the conscript army has been augmented so that now a number of divisions with modern equipment are guarding the frontiers. Mechanization has been kept down in face of the mountainous character of the country. It apparently never has been the intention, in case of an attack, to hold the broad valleys, but rather the guarding mountainside and the Alps. The natural opportunities of geography have, in the meantime, been strengthened by lines of fortifications all along the frontiers. A chain of pill-boxes, machine-gun nests, anti-tank devices and other modern fortifications already before the war glanced down to the Upper Rhine across which the soldiers of the Third Reich watched.

Measures have naturally been taken

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in order to defend what is called here the Home Front. A Nazi group which called itself "The National Movement of Switzerland" under the leadership of the ominous Leonhardt and a certain Burri was dissolved in November last.

In accordance with its prerogative under the Swiss Constitution, as well as with special powers granted by the Federal Assembly (Parliament) to the "Bundes-Rat" (Government), the latter dissolved all Communist organizations and prohibited their publications. They included the so-called Fourth International (Trotzkyists) and Anarchists. M. Nicole, the Geneva Socialist with strong Communist tendencies, and his friends were thus not included. But the papers which he controlled were.

This action has only strengthened the position of the Swiss Trade Unions who are supporting the existing order with all their might, and have now even openly expressed their wish to participate in the Government in accordance with the heavy responsibilities which the organized workers have been shouldering in most difficult times. Switzerland, as we have seen, is struggling against being drawn into the New Order, and has set out bravely and with much imagination to strengthen Swiss self-sufficiency and economic independence. The needs of the country became so great that the Swiss Government even hired their own ships in order to bring overseas goods to French harbors and thence by rail to Switzerland. This scheme worked only very slowly. Ships had to run all the risks of the sea war, of blockade and counter-blockade. Finally it broke down when the ships—which were of Greek origin—could no longer use Italy's Mediterranean harbors.

These difficulties, however, are only part of the problem. Transport naturally constitutes a tremendous difficulty if one considers that so highly industrialized a territory as Switzerland is almost entirely dependent on imported petrol as well as coal. Both can only be got with difficulty in the middle of a continent which itself is being searched by the Nazis for these very goods. Fortunately, Switzerland has used her great possibilities to create power and has transferred some 80 per cent of her railways to electricity. Some major projects are even now being planned and carried out so that the percentage of electric railways will still be increased.

THE element of centralized planning is gradually coming into the foreground also in other spheres. A great number of goods, including textiles, soap, and, of course, foodstuffs are rationed and can only be obtained by ration-cards. Even butter—of which the dairy industry of Switzerland was supposed to have sufficient quantities—has been rationed. In spite of rigorous control the prices are rising. Since the Axis is short of these very products of which Switzerland has imported so much it is becoming increasingly difficult for her to maintain exports, dependent on imports.

Quite apart from these agricultural and dairy products Swiss imports and exports have crumbled through the pressure of the war and the Nazi "New

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Order." Imports have gone down by 37.9 per cent as compared with the previous year (3rd quarter of 1940), exports by 1.3 per cent. This means that the hungry neighbors are pressing the country and bleeding it white without giving it a chance to fill up its resources properly by sufficient imports.

One of the main sources of income, the tourists, has disappeared almost completely. During the main season of June to August 1940 the number of visitors fell to 16 per cent of the already poor number of 1939. Building activities have been halved. Yet there has been employment to an extent hardly known since the days of the economic boom. For large numbers of men are serving in the army, and a considerable part of the industry of Switzerland has been put to war work, producing what the modern army needs. Naturally, the State appears as the biggest buyer. Whereas the index of foodstuffs, etc., has gone up 14.2 per cent, the index of raw materials has risen by 44.8 per cent.

THE strained economic system of the country has, as is only right, called for governmental action in regard to future developments. The independence of Switzerland is being defended not only on the military and political but also on the economic front. It is, therefore, of first-rate importance that foresight and imagination have been employed in order to avoid grave crises in consequence of present difficulties. The government has installed a Commission for Work-Securing ("Arbeitsbeschaffungskommission") which published its excellent report toward the end of 1940. Numerous measures are being recommended in order to safeguard the economic integrity of the country.

These detailed reports are not only measures in the economic sphere. They constitute manifestations of that will to be free which we have regarded at the outset as the main force keeping that endangered little country free and independent. This spirit manifests itself in the unbroken courage with which public opinion is voiced, the press is carrying on, books and journals are being published. Certain concessions had to be made after the dark Summer of 1940. There is nowadays hardly any directly anti-Nazi book or article published as was so frequently the case until then. Thomas Mann's monthly *Mass und Wert* no longer comes from the shores of Lake Zürich; that brave fighter-publisher Dr. Emil Oprecht's anti-Nazi books do not appear there any longer. Yet there is still much to encourage us. The Zürich Theater is carrying on and, if not in open tendency, at least in spirit and style it stands for that great tradition of the liberal theater which was hunted out of Germany in 1933. The great tradition of journalism at its best is kept alive by *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, *Bund*, Basle *Nachrichten*, and Basle *National-Zeitung*. Switzerland and her papers still take the risk of being raged at by Dr. Goebbels because of certain articles or of reports from London giving the true facts. The universities still carry on unafraid.

That is what Switzerland herself is doing.

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We are far behind in safeguards against air raids on our cities

If the Bombers Come to Us—

By JOHN MITCHELL

THE alarm begins like the moaning of a fretful child. Dark lines of people running for shelter warp along the street walls. Minutes later a faint drone in the heavens echoes the infant's cry. There is a flash like the turning of a fin up there, gone hastily. Then suddenly, without other warning, hell breaks loose.

Anti-aircraft fire blasts the sky's edge. The river outlining the city jets unnatural smoke: the first targets.

Aluminum shadows sweep overhead, so slight the great swinging searchlight beams might crush them. Hot cinders scattered from invisible combats drip earthward, their lethal energy spent.

The city is not London but New York.

In the shelters, in the shadows, within doors the battle is heard at second hand.

"Friends—people—please!" a rookie raid warden importunes, guiding frightened stragglers to the safety of a door, a wall, a cellar or a gutter.

They crowd in tunnels, subways, vaults, stations, in rock caverns, in parks, in homemade backyard pits.

Out to sea, up the New England coast, observers detect a new patrol of enemy bombers, sliding through the mist. They are not many, for the huge craft required for the long distance they come are precious and expensive. Rumor has it that an invader aircraft carrier at sea is feeding the raid. Ships and planes chase through the night, seeking it.

Defending intercepter planes rise against the new attack. Ships fall down the sky in furious duels.

In the stricken metropolis, fire-engines, ambulances, stretcher-bearers work all night.

The raid here sketched represents not only an enemy able to attack in force, but a defense organization, especially on the civilian side, that has

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been highly developed. Actually, how well-prepared are American communities for an attack? Are the citizens of New York City, for example, trained and ready for such an emergency?

As the nation's business and cultural capital, Manhattan constitutes a bull's eye objective for enemy raiders. In response to energetic appeals by the authorities, thousands of its citizens almost overnight have organized into units for service in an emergency. But seven and a half million persons squeezed into an area a few dozen miles square present innumerable problems for a defense effort, which may explain the uneven though not discouraging picture that a survey affords.

Precautions against air attack fall into two categories: the military and the civilian or, in official language, the Active Defense, which means the operations of the armed forces, and the Passive Defense, which is the action taken by the organized elements of the population to preserve life and property. While it is up to the military to repulse or destroy a raiding invader, the great burden of protection against what that enemy may bring, the job of managing the destruction, as it were, falls upon civilians.

A NATIONAL plan for civilian defense had been long in the making but it was not until May 19, 1941, that evidence of it was officially made public, when President Roosevelt named Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia of New York as Director of the Office of Civilian Defense. From the outset it was noted that the local aspect of that defense was being stressed, and while, subsequently, various announcements regarding civilian efforts have come from the White House and the Office of Production Management, the organization has been almost entirely in the hands of mayors and community representatives meeting from time to time with Mr. LaGuardia. Congress has passed no law, nor made any specified appropriation, for such defense activities; whereas Britain, which is serving the United States as a model for many of these plans, by acts of Parliament in 1937 and 1939 created and expanded its Air Raid Precautions service.

This does not mean that the official status of the civilian defense effort is in question, or that it is not a properly functioning governmental agency like, say, the relief administration or the weather bureau. But, inescapably, an air of the amateur, if not the haphazard, clings to the announcements and directions that have emanated during the past few months from the Civilian Defense Office. This accounts for delays in the building of public bomb-shelters, in the wholesale distribution of gas-masks and in plans for the evacuation of civilians in case of attack.

One reason for the latter, perhaps, is the expressed belief by authorities like Mr. LaGuardia that raids on American cities, if war does come, are more likely to be isolated affairs, delivered for shock effect on public morale, than the continuous and damaging bombings of cities as witnessed in Europe. If attacks are only to be "moderate" we can see an excuse for official caution in making expenditures

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for civilian defense; moreover, the emphasis on its local aspect means added burdens on sorely-pressed municipal budgets. Sufficient extra fire protection for seaboard cities alone, it was estimated, would cost about $100,000,000, and such equipment would have to take its turn in the production for war.

That aforementioned sense of the amateur persists over much of the picture. Hundreds of thousands of citizens in many communities have been enrolled as Air Raid Wardens entirely on a volunteer, unpaid basis, which is the case even for the full-time jobs of Zone Wardens, who may have as many as 50,000 persons under their wardship. The only exceptions are those civil service and municipal employees who will perform such work as an extension of their regular employment. In the same way medical and ambulance services, rescue, demolition and decontamination squads and the various ancillary services have all been

—*Time and Tide*, London

organized on a volunteer basis. Again, our danger is not nearly that of the British, but our defense set-up could learn much from the businesslike way their government from the outset organized defense on an hours-and-pay basis, with volunteers at a minimum.

Also, information on precautionary measures has not been made easily available. As early as 1935 the British were distributing leaflets on air defense and what the citizen should do. In the United States such leaflets and pamphlets are almost totally lacking, or at any rate are difficult to obtain. Recently a pamphlet issued by the New York Tunnel Authority on defense was unobtainable at three of the most likely city distributive centers.

MEANWHILE the army and naval services, aware that the latest-type bombers can range 7,500 miles or more, are preparing for attacks of whatever sort or intensity. Such plans remain closely guarded secrets, of course, but some idea of their comprehensive scope—and incidentally the seriousness with which the Government regards the possibility of attack—is gained from the recent occupation by the United States of Iceland, whereby a possible enemy base for air invasion was anticipated and thwarted.

Militarily, New York City is but part of the 18,000-square-mile area running north to Boston which constitutes the nation's First Air Defense Command with headquarters at Mitchel Field, Long Island. Five military and naval airfields over the entire sector afford bases for defense aircraft. Defense of the city proper would be supplemented by troops manning guns at the four forts of the New York Harbor Coast Defense and the whole area

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would be further protected by inshore patrols of submarine and other craft of the Third Naval District which extends from Newfoundland to Cape Hatteras. Actual data on anti-aircraft batteries, pursuit and intercepter planes and balloon barrages, if any, is of course not known.

It is estimated that an air-borne attack would approach at a five-mile-a-minute speed, making detection and the relaying of information of critical importance, and it is here that the civil population plays some role in the Active Defense. In wartime some 10,000 civil and service observers in spotter posts scattered from Cape Cod to the Empire State Building at eight miles apart have the job of getting that information to the Army nerve centers. Detection will be enormously aided by the Army's new secret aircraft detector which, operating on the radio-wave principle, can find planes 150 miles away. Observations will be telephoned direct to Army Information Centers where officers will plot them on huge table maps, from which they will be transcribed upon confirmation to "elevation charts." The figures and probable objectives determined from that are then sent on to the Air Defense Command from where the operations of the various flight commands will be co-ordinated.

This is the set-up of the Active Air Defense taking shape in various degree in the nine Army Corps areas of the United States.

The tasks of the Passive Air Defense include fire prevention, medical aid, safeguarding of food and utility supplies, sheltering of the civil population against bomb and gas, maintenance of transportation and the protection of power-houses, transmission lines and factories.

TO THIS end New York and other seaboard cities have organized Air Raid Warden corps, on the theory that civilian defense is a proposition for the people themselves, operating in ther own neighborhoods, in and about their own homes. Some 60,000 men and women are being enrolled in New York City for such duty at a rate of 200 a day (the goal is a total of 64,000), and are receiving their instructions at police precincts and schools. On a population basis the city has been divided into 152 zones of 50,000 persons, these in turn subdivided into sectors and posts. Enforcement of lighting restrictions during a blackout is the primary duty of post or block wardens. They must direct people to safety during raids, report fires, administer first aid, be able to manage crowds and, indeed, be a sort of jack of all trouble during an emergency.

Police, of course, will be the civilian authority. Raid zones, under the leadership of a Zone Warden, equal roughly two to each of the eighty-two police precincts of the city, with the precinct commander in charge under the supreme direction of the Commissioner and the Mayor. All municipal employees will be mobilized or held in reserve for special duty and these will form the nucleus of the citizen volunteer groups. Thus the 18,000 police will patrol streets, supplemented by the wardens.

The city has been instructing its em-

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ployees in raid duties for some time. While all patrolmen have been attending schools at their precincts headquarters or the one at the Police Academy for Zone Wardens, there is for instance a special emergency division of 725 men that has finished a thirty-five day course in such matters as control of mobs, blackout and light control, and the handling of explosives, incendiaries and other bomb types. The Fire Department's miners and sappers corps has been expanded to 1,000 men specially trained in the dynamiting of buildings to prevent spread of fires. Special training of the 12,000 men of the Sanitation Department has also been started.

Registry for first aid work of the city's more than 15,000 doctors and 24,000 nurses has been made. The five boroughs have been divided into twelve "disaster" areas, with a master hospital in each as the center for emergency medical attention in case of an attack. A large percentage of the city's 125 ambulances would, of course, be in readiness for this special work.

In view of Director LaGuardia's recent declaration that the country did not possess the necessary equipment to protect its cities from raids and his failure to declare definitely that the tools would be obtained, what the actual state of the fire and disaster-fighting situation is physically is unknown. Manhattan is understood, however, to be contracting for 2,500 light pumping units and 400,000 feet of extra hose.

There remains the grave problem of the safety of the individual civilian. What will be his recourse under gas or bomb attack? Are air-raid shelters feasible? Should gas-masks be distributed to the public, and should this be done free? On July 1, Mayor La Guardia declared at a conference of twenty-eight state governors in Boston that tentative plans called for the putting of masks, at government expense, in the hands of all of the 50,000,000 persons living along the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific coasts of the nation. Such a decision would probably rest with the War Department and would have to be backed by an appropriation by Congress.

New York City with its vast sprawling slums offers even a greater shelter problem than does the city of London. A 1,000-pound demolition bomb will penetrate forty feet of earth; no less than seven feet of steel-reinforced concrete can be regarded as strictly bomb-proof. The cost of providing such protection for an entire city population is prohibitive.

Britain is getting away from the air-raid shelter system relied on when the bombings of London first began. It was found that concentrations of masses of people, such as thousands being jammed into huge shelters, led to a very high rate of casualties in the event of a direct hit. A system of dispersal is now the favored method for civilian protection, and it is likely that American authorities will adhere to that plan.

FIRST rule for New Yorkers, according to authorities there, is that in event of a raid they should keep inside their own buildings, in the middle

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stories, and remain away from windows. Fragmentation is the chief danger to persons in crowded areas, since brick or stone torn from walls often travels several times as fast as a bullet. With the first warning siren—the method of warning of raids has not been definitely announced—persons caught on the street should fling themselves instantly into doorways, against walls, even into the gutter. On the other hand, after a raid, when walking through a bombed area pedestrians should keep to the middle of the street for fear of collapsing walls.

A W.P.A. project has made a survey of underground New York that lists some 40,000 vaults, tunnels and cellars, but they are almost all too shallow for safety. In instructions recently given raid wardens in New York, it was declared that the subways would afford virtually no raid protection, being too near the surface. However, the Independent System's station at 53rd Street and Madison Avenue, Manhattan, is eighty feet under the surface, an adequate depth, and there are others almost as deep. Water from broken mains or gas, if gas were used in an attack, might trap people in such shelters, and there is always the necessity for keeping transportation lines clear. City tunnels under the rivers, which are an average of thirty-five feet beneath the water bed, would not only offer safety but are also scientifically ventilated.

Most city dwellings—save certain apartment houses—are of the "wall-bearing" type, for which little can be done against the impact of bombs. A direct hit would plunge completely through such a building, and it is likely that a bomb landing nearby would collapse the walls by suction. Buildings of lighter structure, with many windows, are more resistant to impact than those with heavy walls and fewer windows.

WHILE opinion as to the resistance ability of skyscrapers is divided, the well-known architect William Orr Ludlow has declared that skyscrapers are probably safer in bombings than are lower structures. Their steel columns, girders and beams are so tied together that the floor load is distributed. He believes it would be possible to wreck half a dozen columns in such a building as the Empire State and yet leave it far from collapse. Earthquake construction, however, is about the only type that will withstand the explosion and blast power of the modern high explosive aerial bomb. Incidentally, it has been found that wooden frame buildings stand up better than the regular brick and mortar "wall-bearing" types of structure.

A modern city is one huge machine driven by electric power and whole areas can be instantly crippled by hits upon vital powerhouses. Thus Director LaGuardia has spoken of the necessity of organizing a body of paid Federal guards to maintain twenty-four-hour watch of such strategic centers. The food supply of a great modern city even under normal conditions is a considerable problem in traffic; in time of emergency vigilance must be doubled. New York's central markets are concentrated over some twenty-five city blocks on the lower west side of Man-

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hattan and would be a likely target in a raid. Warehouses and stores occupy ancient buildings and while they may be technically fire-proof, a raid might play havoc. Moreover, the city's food supply enters chiefly by rail over a single bridge, the Henry Hudson, and an interruption there might cause serious consequences at the receiving end. The city's trucking facilities and excellent highway system would probably save such a situation, however.

Gas mains and sewers are also a hazard but alternate systems are available in case of breaks and repair squads have been enlarged to take care of most emergencies. This is also true of the water supply and electrical systems.

It has been found, incidentally, that bridges seem almost immune from direct hits from the air, as they present such narrow marks. Damage to New York's docks is anticipated, which might necessitate resort to tunnels under the river for the bringing in of food. The pipes carrying the city's water are 800 feet beneath the surface, drilled through rock, and are considered safe from bombs, though damage to hydrants and surface mains may bring about temporary interruptions.

THUS the picture of civilian air defense and especially that of New York City, which should serve as a model for other communities. While much may happen "behind the scenes," far more than the scant reports coming from the Office in Washington indicates, it is assumed that not until, and if, war actually comes will the civilian auxiliary forces be mobilized on a completely effective basis. Meanwhile, there is an indisputable feeling among those who should know, that authorities are waiting to see "how bad" it will be.

The business of evacuation of children alone is an enormous one. Not only are there the difficult human problems of separating families, there is also the stiff job of organizing transportation, providing reception in the country, and the taking care of commissary and educational requirements. Economics and "who will pay," unfortunately, is a considerable factor in defense. There are gas-masks on the market, but the cheapest retails at $18, and it is unlikely that the private citizen will expend that much unless literally ordered to. In Britain, masks are free; the Government pays for the feeding of evacuees; there are communal restaurants where the temporarily homeless can eat for nothing. But with us the stiff fact that it would cost about $27,000 to provide a safe, sanitary shelter for a 1,000 human beings gives us at least temporary pause.

The response to the warden call in New York City shows that the man in the street, however, is eager and willing to act in defense.

But finger exercises are not enough for the stern job of saving life and property, if attack comes. Equipment and active leadership are a begging necessity. America has quickly and magnificently overhauled her military apparatus, but the time may get too short for a miracle like that on the home front.

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Persons and Personages

Taskmaster of the Red Army

By Albert Miller

THE May, 1941, issue of *The Living Age* contained an article published in the Moscow organ of the Komsomol, entitled: "The Red Army Turns Prussian." This article praised the harshness of discipline as stipulated by the new Russian army code. The man who introduced this code, the popular Defense Commissar Semyon Timoshenko, has during the advancement to his present high position seen all stages of army discipline; from the blind obedience in the old Tsarist army, via the turbulent days of the Soldiers' and Workers' Councils, when the troops elected their officers, to the gradual taking shape of a modern Russian defense force in which again blind obedience and the threat of harsh punishment seem to be essential.

In his youth, Timoshenko did not know anything about "Prussianism." He was born forty-seven years ago as a farm boy in a Bessarabian village. In his youth, which was devoid of all education, he worked for a nobleman in the same manner as thousands of other poor Russian country lads have done. His round skull and plain features still today, after having been a soldier for twenty-six years, show him to be a typical Russian *muzhik.*

The world outside of Russia hardly knew anything about Timoshenko before suddenly on May 8, 1940, Tass, the Russian news agency, announced that he had taken over the Defense Commissariat from Klementy E. Voroshilov and that the latter had been elevated to the position of Vice Premier of the U.S.S.R. At first, observers did not know how to explain this sudden shift, although such things do not belong to the unusual in Stalin's Russia. But the outstanding fact this time was that a Commissar who was well-known and who was one of the few surviving members of the old Bolshevist guard, had been replaced by a soldier whom even the Soviet Encyclopedia did not list.

The details of Timoshenko's career which subsequently became known show that behind the scenes he had been for many years instrumental in shaping Soviet strategy. He was the man who had brought the Finnish campaign to a successful end. In order to overcome the Mannerheim Line, Timoshenko had had a replica built and had drilled his soldiers in attacking it. Then he had directed their attack against the real Line and broken it.

It also became known that he had led the Russian troops when the

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U.S.S.R. took over her allotted part in the break-up of Poland. Before his troops marched into Eastern Poland (Western Ukraine), Timoshenko, as commander of the Ukranian Front Army, issued an appeal to the "Workers and Peasants of the Western Ukraine to throw off the Polish yoke, to seize the land, and to seize the hand of their Russian brethren." The man who some time later began to reintroduce the army caste system of Tsarist days exhorted Poles to disobey their own government.

That Timoshenko already at that time was high in the favor of Russia's dictator was shown when at a session of the Soviet Parliament he shared a box with Stalin, the Soviet President Kalinin and Marshal Simeon Budyenny, Russia's famous cavalry general.

Timoshenko's friendship with Stalin and Voroshilov is of long standing and, as far as can be seen, has weathered all storms. After he had fought for the Tsar for two years, Timoshenko joined the Revolution in 1917. At that time the soldiers of the Red Army, which was just taking shape, used to elect their officers. Timoshenko was so popular that within a short time he was honored in this manner. He led his men against White detachments on various fronts and with varied success.

AFTER his unit had been defeated in the Caucasus, he took refuge at Tsaritsyn (now Stalingrad), from where Red soldiers, led by Stalin, Voroshilov and Budyenny tried to stave off the Whites. Here the friendship of the four began. Timoshenko cut a good figure and was entrusted with the command of a cavalry brigade. Shortly afterwards, the illiterate, twenty-three-year-old, former peasant boy was elevated to a rank equal to that of general.

In the present Russo-German War the four friends are again working closely together. Stalin, of course, is at the head of everything, while the battle front has been divided into three sectors. Timoshenko has been entrusted with the command of the Central Front, directly west of Moscow. Voroshiloff is leading the troops on the Northwestern Front around Ostrov, and Budyenny is to stave off the Germans on the Southern Front, the Ukraine.

In his high position, luck was not always on his side. Pro-Tsarist soldiers under General Wrangel annihilated his men in a battle at Perekop, Crimea, and Timoshenko himself was seriously wounded. In 1920, during the Russo-Polish War, he led together with Budyenny the historic cavalry attacks which almost put an end to the just reborn Polish Republic.

When finally the Bolshevists had defeated all opposing forces, Timoshenko found time to devote himself to the mastering of the three R's. His case was not unusual. In fact, so many Red Army officers were without adequate intellectual background that a school, called "Frunze School," after

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the early Soviet Army leader, had been opened for commanders who were destined for higher positions.

After graduating from this school, Timoshenko climbed further. In 1933 he was made army commander and political commissar, *i.e.*, political supervisor of military activities. This system of dual leadership, one political and one military, was abolished in the Red Army after its disadvantage had been shown so glaringly in the Finnish campaign. It seems that the strict disciplinarian Timoshenko was one of the principal advocates of a unified command, with political supervisers out of the way.

Some months after taking over the Defense Commissariat, he touched on this subject with strong words, stating at the same time that he wanted every soldier in wartime not only to obey, but also to think. If Red soldiers are to follow Timoshenko's new army code to the letter, they must not think too hard, for now officers not only are allowed to use their firearms against disrespectful subordinates, they even are punished themselves if they show laxity.

His reform of discipline is only one of many which Timoshenko introduced after taking over office. In a speech in August 1940, reviewing the maneuvers in the Moscow district, he told his officers that "in consideration of recent wars, our government has demanded reorganization of our work. . . . It is our duty to work incessantly so that the Red Army . . . can bring victory with little bloodshed."

Everything in the Red Army apparently was already taking shape for the war with the German friends. Shortly after the maneuvers were over, three classes were called to the colors and Timoshenko supervised the enlistment. In order to fill the gaps between commissioned officers and privates, Timoshenko created the ranks of corporal and sergeant. These non-commissioned officers were to take over their commands only after graduating from military school.

ON THE Soviets' national holiday, November 7, 1940, Timoshenko paraded his reorganized army in Moscow's Red Square before Stalin. Not the dictator, but the Defense Commissar was the principal speaker of the day. Timoshenko did not limit himself to military matters, but spoke about foreign affairs and the tightening of labor discipline.

That he, the soldier, should elaborate on foreign affairs was not astonishing. It is said that he and his generals were decisive in diverting Stalin from the road of appeasement and bringing about the break with Germany. In some circles Timoshenko is even called the "anti-Nazi firebrand." His

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great reforms may have brought about the outbreak of the Russo-German War just this summer, for next year the Red Army might have been too strong for Germany.

There is no doubt that Germany constantly watched with eagle eyes each new move of the Defense Commissar who stands so high in Stalin's favor that he has bestowed on him the titles of "Marshal," of "Hero of the Soviets" and has decorated him with the Order of Lenin, one of Russia's highest decorations. Germany must have known from where the wind was blowing when in January of this year, Timoshenko, after once more denouncing divided authority in the Red Army, declared that he was not yet satisfied with the reforms achieved. The army still leaned too heavily on technique and was backward in field training.

The present death struggle after almost two years of uneasy friendship between Stalin's Russia and Hitler's Germany will show whether Timoshenko's army reorganization was started in time and was thorough enough to win the day for the U.S.S.R.

(Editor's Note: On July 20, Stalin assumed the duties of the Commissariat for Defense and made Marshal Timoshenko Deputy Commissar.)

Iceland's Premier

By X. Y.

A REMOTE corner of the globe, to which newspapers in peaceful times usually gave scarcely a line of type from year's end to year's end, suddenly has made the front pages of all American dailies. Now these 40,000 square miles of volcanic land, inhabited by 119,000 fishers and farmers, have become an important part of America's defense.

When, in 1939, shortly after the outbreak of the present War, British troops occupied Iceland in order to forestall a German grab, Hermann Jónasson, the Premier—President of the Council, according to his official title—lodged a formal protest. But in July of this year he requested President Roosevelt to take over the protection of his islands, when the British troops were needed on other fronts.

A heavy burden rests on the shoulders of this man who has just passed his forty-fifth birthday. Physically he is well fitted to carry it, for he is about six feet tall and heavily built without fat;

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PALO ALTO
PUBLIC LIBRARY

in his youth he was an athlete of some renown. Unlike the Nazi ideal of a Nordic, he has dark hair. But the real Nordic peculiarity of the Premier and of all Icelanders—the purest of all Scandinavians—is to maintain their democracy, the oldest still living, founded in 930 A.D.

The Premier to whom his compatriots have entrusted the fate of their country has had a somewhat cometlike rise. He is the son of a typical Icelandic farmer of Skagafjördur, in the northern part of the island. He was educated at the gymnasium (Junior College) of Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland. Some years later he passed his examinations at the law school of the Reykjavik University.

After terminating his studies, the future Premier immediately entered civil service as an assistant judge. A few years later he was appointed Commissioner of Police of Reykjavik, with a force of about twenty-five policemen under him. His first act was to demand a stronger police force, and when he resigned a few years later, the force had grown to over seventy. One of the reasons for this increase was the fact that Reykjavik's population has doubled since 1920.

While Hermann Jónasson was still Commissioner, he entered Parliament, in 1934, as a member of the Framsoknar Flokkur or Progressive party and had occupied his seat only a few months when he was elected Premier, an office which he has held ever since. Originally his Cabinet consisted of only two other members, a Minister of Commerce and a Minister for Finance, with he himself holding the portfolios of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs. In 1937 a Coalition Government was formed, with two additional members, and by 1940 all parties except the three Communists in the Althing had joined it.

It was under Jónasson's leadership that the Althing voted in 1938 to terminate Iceland's union with Denmark. Since 1918, the country had had autonomy except in the conduct of its foreign affairs and that the two countries shared a common sovereign and supreme court. A popular referendum was to have been held to sanction the vote of the Althing, but meanwhile the War broke out, and after the Germans occupied Denmark and the British Iceland, the last ties between the two countries were broken. The King has been replaced by a "Regent," Sveinn Björnsson, who was elected to the office for one year.

No Grounds for Blame

The new German-language newspaper in Greece complains that the Greeks blame the Germans for everything. The Italians on the other hand would be delighted with a little severe blame from the Greeks for a change.

—*Saturday Night*, Toronto

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Land abuses in the Islands have fostered spread of communism

Moscow Beckons to the Filipino

THE INCIPIENT REVOLT

By D. L. F.

Philippines Free Press, Independent Weekly, Manila

(Editor's Note: Communism, and a less extreme form of socialism, are spreading rapidly in the Philippines. The chief reason appears to be the long delay in land reforms, which has created such fertile soil for communism as that at Sabani, said to be typical of dangerous conditions elsewhere in the Islands. The upshot may be a Commonwealth-wide revolt, if Communist agitators gain more support among the natives.)

FOR 300 years before their pent-up wrath was unleashed in the flaming fury of the revolution, the Filipinos asked for the redress of their grievances against the Spanish government.

Analogous, although on a smaller scale, is the case of some 700 Sabani plantation tenants in Laur, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga Province. During the last forty years they have prayed to, pleaded with and petitioned the government to give them justice. But consistently the government has ignored them.

Once upon a time—a matter of a little more than four decades ago—a government also ignored the pleas, prayers and petitions of the people. Then the government found a revolution on its hands.

Maybe the present government, in ignoring the plea of the Sabani Estate tenants, feels secure against anything like a revolution. But Felix Joromo, councilor of Laur, recently told the writer that something like it would take place in three years if the Sabani Estate controversy is not settled before then. For communism may be counted on to spread among a people nursing hatred against the government. And communism stands for revolution, and that's what these people will resort to unless the government makes the tenants' problem its own.

The four decades' history of Sabani

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is a story of struggle. It is an epic of hardy men and women who migrated to this land at the foot of the Sierra Madre mountains to found their little community. From the Ilocos region and the Cagayan valley, the first few families came, settled on the land and eked out a bare existence. But they didn't last long. The first families were wiped out. Typhoid and malaria finished them.

Undaunted by the ravages of disease, new families came and settled in the homes built by their predecessors. A new régime had been established in the Islands. Disease campaigns were launched and the havoc of typhoid and malaria was minimized.

Prosperity came to the typhoid and malaria infested valley. The 100 hectares which the Ilocano settlers tilled and cultivated, the original Sabani, produced good harvests—from fifty to eighty cavans to the hectare. (A cavan is 2.13 bushels; a hectare is 2.47 acres.)

More people settled in Sabani, among them a Spaniard named Ramírez. He lived among the people and helped them work out their problems. In no time he had won their confidence and on several occasions he acted for them as their spokesman. When the settlers spoke to him about registering their lands, he promised to undertake the work, which he did. But when the lands were registered and the papers of title were issued, Ramírez' name and not the tenants' appeared on them.

Once armed with a valid title of ownership to the estate, Ramírez sold the land to an American, one Henry Smith, who in turn sold it to the National Development Company. For a time the National Development Company leased the hacienda to Natividad Busuego. In 1932, the Compañia Agrícola de Tomacruz acquired the property under lease for a period of ten years. After three years, the contract was cancelled and the National Development Company began to administer the estate.

At first, the *kasama* system, whereby landowner and tenant shared the expenses equally and divided the produce equally, was the system followed on the hacienda. The practice, however, proved to be very burdensome to the tenants and they asked the government to change the system. Officials of the National Development Company studied the matter and proposed a lease system, whereby every lessee would work his land, paying all the expenses incident to the preparation and planting, but 25 percent of his produce would go to the government as rental. The lease contracts were to be from year to year.

THE tenants were not enthusiastic about the new system, but most of them—400 out of 700—were compelled to sign the contracts under the threat of being dispossessed of their landholdings and improvements. In the meantime, they sent a petition to the owners that the lands be sold to them at from $5 to $50 a hectare.

In view of the present policy of the government to buy big estates and sell them to their occupants, the Sabani tenants have ample grounds for seeking the purchase of the land.

But the National Development Company, for some reason or other, ap-

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pears not disposed to sell—not just now. The hacienda is still a good investment for the government corporation, judging from the produce of last year; 30,000 cavans of rice, 25,000 cavans of corn, and $1,000 worth of vegetables. Of this, the government gets 25 per cent as rent.

Whether the National Development Company makes money from the Sabani Estate after the expenses of administration, taxes and other items have been deducted, the fact remains that the administration of the hacienda is a failure. This is apparent when you consider that although Sabani covers a total area of 11,400 hectares, only 2,500 hectares are under cultivation, which is 22 per cent of the total, more or less. Of the area under cultivation, 1,500 hectares are planted to rice, and the rest to vegetables and corn.

The land in Sabani compares favorably with land in other rice-producing areas, but although in some regions 50 to 60 cavans are produced to the hectare, most of the Sabani land produces only from 20 to 30 cavans to the hectare.

Ordinarily, a tenant or lessee is given four or five hectares of land to cultivate, but under the present system of yearly contracts, the lessee is not protected in his possession of his lease. At the end of the year, the administration, for no just or valid reason whatsoever, can reduce an old lessee's landholdings or even dispossess him of his land altogether.

Here lies one of the causes of the trouble at Sabani. The pernicious, age-old agrarian problem—the problem of the absentee landlord—is to be found on the Sabani hacienda.

Absentee landlordism is responsible for much of the abuse and mismanagement on big landed estates. This is especially true on the Sabani Estate, where the National Development Company is the absentee landlord, and the administration of the estate is entrusted to one man—Manuel de los Reyes, who is the administrator of the estate.

FROM my talks with the tenants while I was in Sabani recently, I gathered that Mr. De los Reyes is not well liked, largely because, the tenants claim, he does not take a sympathetic attitude toward their problems. The tenants charge that he is high-handed in his dealings with the people and treats them as though they were menials.

Although some of the charges made by some of the tenants are personal in character and may have been exaggerated, yet the case of Timoteo Valle, a lessee of the hacienda, typifies some of the abuses committed by the administration.

Lessee Valle recently sent a complaint to the National Development Company, in which he accused De los Reyes of having deprived him of a big portion of land included in a lot of four and a half hectares which he had cleared, improved and cultivated during the last five years. The portion of land removed from his landholdings was given by De los Reyes to Segundo Pulante and to Nicolas Valentino, each of whom already had not less than four hectares of land in his possession.

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To demonstrate how arbitrarily Valle was treated, or mistreated, he was made to vacate the lands which he had cleared and cultivated, and he lost all his improvements, including his house, with no compensation given him by either the administration or the persons who succeeded him in the possession of the land.

To put it in a more understandable form, De los Reyes, without just cause or reason, divested Valle of his legal and equitable right to the possession of the land which he cleared and improved, without due process of law or compensation.

When the matter is carefully considered, the ejectment of these so-called lessees, who are in fact no more than tenants, is a notorious violation of the law. For instance, Act 461, otherwise known as the Rice Tenancy Law, provides that the ejectment of a tenant can only be done on the grounds enumerated by Section 19 of Act 4054, and provides further that such ejectment should take place only after a proper investigation has been undertaken by an investigator of the department of justice.

Here are laws which define the relationship of landlord and tenant, and yet the government's National Development Company, as a landlord, ignores the law with impunity; or granting it can hide itself behind the so-called lease agreement, there is still equity to be considered, if the Rice Tenancy Law is not applicable.

Getting down to fundamentals, the policy being enforced where the government or government corporations are concerned, implies a dual application of the law, one kind of law for private individuals or corporations and another kind of law for the government and government-owned corporations. In other words, it is unlawful for a private hacienda to do what a government corporation can do.

That trouble is brewing every day in Sabani, that Councilor Joromo was not far wrong when he predicted revolution, or something akin to it, within three years, unless something is done for the amelioration of the tenants' present condition, is more than aptly demonstrated by the passage of a resolution by the convention of Nueva Ecija mayors held in Sabani last spring to carry out a campaign against communism. The mayors assembled promised to contribute a sum of money to a fund to fight communism there.

The Cause of Communism in the Philippines

(Editor's Note: The following is a digest of a recent speech before the Philippine National Assembly by Fausto F. Gonzalez-Sioco, of the Second District of Pampanga, discussing tenant problems in his province.)

THERE has been a great deal of controversy among our thinking population about whether or not we should permit the spread of communism, whether or not we should permit the awakening of the Filipino la-

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boring classes. Unfortunately, there are still many in this country who do not understand what communism is, who take it merely as a labor movement, as the awakening of the laboring class against the depredations and abuses of capitalism.

But we desire that awakening of the laboring class in so far as it benefits the economic and social structure of the Philippines; just as much as we want to protect labor from being abused by capital, we want to protect capital and prevent it from being abused by labor. Labor and capital go hand in hand; either is useless without the other.

I say that unfortunately there are still many people who misinterpret the present movement for communism as part of the labor movement in the sense that it is for the betterment of the masses. I want to state that communism is the enemy of both capital and labor. Communism is not a labor movement for the economic advantage of the laboring class. It is a movement of the proletariat actuated by the false promises of unscrupulous leaders in order to enslave the laborers.

We have plenty of Communists in the Philippines—men who believe in internationalism, who do not believe in the flag of our country, who do not believe in our Constitution, in our government and in our President. They believe in one superior being—Stalin. These beliefs are due to the spread of Communist doctrines which, because of our negligence, we have permitted in the Philippines.

In the Philippines, the hotbed of communism is Pampanga. In that province it is called socialism. In order to understand the spread of communism in Pampanga, I want to explain the Pampanga mentality and the social structure in the province. There are in Pampanga three marked classes of society, more marked than in any other province in the Philippines. I speak of the proprietor class, the middle class and the peasant or laborer class.

The proprietor class is composed mostly of the owners of the big landed estates. It approaches the European aristocratic class in prestige and character. Among this class of people may also be included high government officials, professionals, high-salaried employes and intellectuals. There are altogether less than 1,000 families of this class in Pampanga.

The middle class is composed of proprietors of small landed estates, artisans and employes. They make up about one-third of the total population of the province. In mentality this class is similar to that of the proprietor class. It is also the target of Communist attacks.

FROM the third class of people, the peasant or laborer class, are recruited the victims of Communist propaganda. These people are mostly farmers and industrial laborers. Because of the diversification of education and the opportunity given to all classes of people under our government, many peasants and laborers are raised to the middle class and even to the proprietor class, when they acquire an education and larger income.

In order to understand communism, it is necessary to analyze the Pam-

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pango mentality. By making a psychological analysis of the mentality of the Pampanga farmers, I have found that the average mentality of a peasant is equivalent to that of a fourteen-year-old person of the educated class. If you subject any fourteen-year-old boy in the Philippines to the same propaganda to which the innocent farmer is now subjected, convincing the boy that his father is a bad man, I am sure the majority of fourteen-year-olds in the Islands would be incited to rebel against their own fathers. While we admit there may be some proprietors who abuse their tenants, it is most unjust on the part of our government to consider proprietors as a class as abusive to their tenants.

The enactment of much of our labor legislation has not solved the problems of the peasants; it has merely incited the proprietors to retaliate as much as they can. The family feeling between the proprietor and peasant has disappeared. The error committed by our government is that it enacted laws in accordance with American progressive legislation without considering the feelings and needs of the masses of our people.

Because of the enactment of this so-called labor legislation, the peasant at present is lost in the boundless sea of society. He does not believe in government leadership; he does not even know the national leaders of the country for he is more interested in local than national affairs. He considers his village his world. Over 50 per cent of the Pampango peasants have not even seen San Fernando, the capital of the province, or Manila. Having lost the leadership of his proprietor, the peasant is without a leader, and he does not trust the leadership of propagandists who pretend to be his friends.

ANOTHER cause of communism in Pampanga is the agricultural crisis. Pampanga has suffered three years of flood—1935-36-37; one year of a rat plague—1938; two years of drought —1939-40. The wilful burning of extensive sugar and rice fields further contributes to the near-starvation of the masses. All of these, summed up, have taxed to the limit the economic life of the people. Thus, Communist voters have increased from 2,400 in 1935 to 33,000 in 1940.

The next cause of communism is Russian propaganda money. It comes to the Philippines through the United States. This is known to the constabulary and undoubtedly many people have read about it in the papers.

The major cause of communism in my province is the government's policy of pampering labor. High government officials, politicians especially, in order to secure the large labor vote, pamper labor even at the expense of the public. The laborers believe and enjoy laudable praise, like all human beings, and the result is detrimental to the whole country.

A final cause of communism is the provincial government officials. Because of the fear or neglect of those responsible, many Communists are employed on public works projects. The Communists, at the same time, put their own relatives on the payroll without making them work, to waste government money and spread their doctrine.

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Straws in the Gale

Ballad of Turkish Radio

The last dispatch from Ankara,
  From Ankara, from Ankara,
The latest word from Ankara,
  (Passed by the Censor Bey)
Says that a German mass attack
Has failed to force the Russians back
Though here and there the friendly Russ
  Gave voluntarilee;
That in the frosty Caucasus
They squawk the self-same squawk as us,
Saying their all-out effort moves
  But very tardilee;
In Ankara they hear it said
That Hitler is already dead
And Pétain lords it in his stead,
  Most autocraticlee;
That's what they say in Ankara.
(Now non-aggressive toward the Reich)
Scheherezade is at the mike
  In Ankara today.

—*Saturday Night*, Toronto

The War Beverage

I am a humble, even insignificant, member of a household dominated for the time being by a baby girl aged six months (writes "D. P."). This morning I noticed the lettering on a portly tin canister, the principal source of the infant's food supply. Here is a literal transcript:

MILK FOOD
Full Cream
For Infants and Invalids
As supplied to His Majesty's
War Office and Other
Government Departments.

—"Lucio" in the *Manchester Guardian*

Buried Alive

"Now, my dear woman, will you please tell me how many children you have had, and how many are living?"

"Oh, I've had nine children—seven alive, and two in the Civil Service."

—*Irish Digest*

Save the World by Walking

So great, in fact, are the opportunities offered to us that, as society disintegrates beneath our feet, we must ask ourselves seriously whether, in choosing this method of travel, we are not adopting the one course which may yet save the world from catastrophe. In hitch-hiking we are presented with a challenge. We face a crisis in our lives—a crisis calling for decision.

—*The Student Movement*, London

Spontaneous Education

A Swiss general who visited Berlin was shown by the Nazis all the marvellous institutions of the Third Reich, including the efficient educational system. They took him to one of the Hitler youth schools which was specially reserved for the children of high officials.

With a kindly smile, the general asked one of the boys, "Well, and what did you learn during the last hour?"

"Spontaneous, enthusiastic applause," was the prompt answer.

—*Aufbau*, New York

Does This Mean a Chair?

WANTED—Wooden Structure for sitting in. State price.

—Advt. in *Sevenoaks Chronicle*, England

A Grave Issue

"We like our girls to wear stockings," said the London staff controller of Barclays, "but no doubt they would be forgiven if they came without them. At the moment, there is no excuse, so the question has not yet arisen.

"I think the question of bare legs would depend on the views of the controller in the particular area.

"In a cathedral town, for instance, bare legs might be out of place."

—*Star*, London

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Business as Usual

1940, as has been said, was a good year, an encouraging year in these times. And 1941, I am glad to say, is even better up to date (hear, hear)—up to date: distinctly better than 1940. For that again we must be thankful. But when one thinks of our success—because we *have* been successful—I cannot but remember what a former chairman of this company used to say to me thirty-five, forty years ago, after a good year: "In the time of our prosperity, Good Lord deliver us."

—Company meeting report in *The Times*, London

He Wins Both Ways

"Bombs?" said the old man. "No, I don't stay up. I takes off me clothes and gets into bed, and I says, "It's either safe in the arms of Jesus or else to hell with Hitler!"

—*The Countryman*, Idbury, England

Add War Issues

A picture which appeared in your interesting paper of girls in a Hawaiian costume is most regrettable, especially if presented at a Y.M.C.A., or to the troops. They could have had a more suitable tableau or play.

—Letter to the *Daily Mail*, London

Special Edition

A new edition of the Bible, specially written for "the man-in-the-street" and illustrated with pictures of tanks, marching armies and aeroplanes, is to be published on July 10.

—*News Chronicle*, London

Napoleon the Gentleman

Although the frequent comparisons of Hitler and Napoleon which appear have stimulated a good deal of argument, I have been driven to the conclusion that the comparison and analogy between the two men will not hold.

Without indulging in the easy task of denouncing the man whom the Germans have taken as their leader, it might be pointed out that Napoleon was of sound landed stock and received the training of a gentleman in the English sense.

—Letter in the *Daily Telegraph*, London

Little Enemy Activity

[The Mother of Parliaments has once more rejected the plea for family allowances. *News Item.*]

When the Nazi might is shattered
By our armament titanic
And the world, though slightly battered
Rescued from the hordes Germanic,
All our hopes may be defeated
By a more deep-rooted danger
And our progeny unseated
By the little Nazi stranger,
Though we know the whole creation
Insufficiently commodious
For a rising generation
So exceptionally odious.
While the foe we may outdistance
In the engines of destruction
They imperil our existence
By their baby mass-production,
And if Britons still diminish
While the Nazis still re-double
We may question at the finish
If the war was worth the trouble,
For while Britain's lawful-wedded
State in converse confidential
That no prospect is more dreaded
Than their parenthood potential,
Nazi Hausfraus ever busy
Charge again the bulging cradle,
Rivalling the record dizzy
Of expectant Hitler Mädel,
While the German State and Party
Trends to race-decline have mastered
And extend a welcome hearty
To the little Nazi bastard
And conceive a mass-offensive
For our ultimate submersion
By the fostering intensive
Of progenitive exertion.
Can we face so grave a peril
Or a future more horrific
If the civilized are sterile
While the savage is prolific?
With our numbers still declining
What avails our moral merit,
If the world of our designing
Little Nazis shall inherit?

—"Sagittarius" in *The New Statesman and Nation*, London

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She failed to seize Singapore because of a cabinet quarrel

When Japan 'Missed the Bus'

THE AUSTRALIANS ARRIVE

By WALKER MATHESON

LESS than a year ago, Japan, now entering her fifth year of war with China, easily could have walked into the Dutch East Indies, taken over Singapore, the Malay States and Hong Kong, and completely cut off Australia and New Zealand from the rest of the British Empire. It would have been an easy amputation and would have left the British with neither leg to stand on nor arm to fight with east of Suez.

But Japan missed the bus—or, rather, the boat.

Nippon's dream of extending her empire to embrace the Netherlands East Indies and the surrounding seas was rudely interrupted last February, as was admitted later by officials of the Tokyo Foreign Office.

The Japanese must have seen, just as I did earlier, that the game was irretrievably lost when a large force of Australian troops noisily disembarked at Singapore to the tune of "Roll Out the Barrel." The liners which disgorged them are well-known to travelers on both the Pacific and Atlantic, despite their camouflage and painted-out names. The "Aussies" had arrived after a secret, ghostly crossing of the 3,000 miles of open sea from their native continent.

From lusty-lunged, slouch-hatted privates to their natty, short-britched and equally hard-boiled commanding general, the Aussies created a furore in staid Singapore (as is their custom wherever they go, "off to the wars"). But the men from Down Under were greeted with frank relief, however robust their manners.

To the people of Singapore—consisting of about 7,500 whites, 100,000 Malayas and 600,000 Chinese—the arrival of the Australians, every one a volunteer, came as the gladdest news in years. For in all Singapore's his-

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tory, which goes back to prehistoric time, there had never before been such dread and tension. While, in the old days, the founder of the Malay dynasty in Southern Malaya was a mere descendant of Alexander the Great with recourse only to primitive weapons, Singapore was now confronted with all the niceties of modern war.

That was last January. The situation was so menacing that strong measures on the part of the United States Navy were demanded in Washington, including the prompt dispatch of a strong American fleet to Singapore on a "courtesy visit"—of permanent duration. At the same time, there was much naval activity in Manila Bay. Warships and a score of submarines were visible from the sea walls of the popular Luneta at sunset one day, had disappeared by the next dawn. Where they had gone and what they were doing was a mystery not only to Japanese agents in Manila but also to the nervous population of the Philippine capital. At the same time, Japanese naval units in the Gulf of Siam were heavily reinforced and the Netherlands authorities forecast that a land-and-sea clash at Singapore was inevitable in the immediate future.

It was no secret that Nipponese battleships had touched at ports in Indo-China for refueling and to take on munitions, with the apparent intention of then taking possession of several unoccupied islands south of Indo-China. It was similarly obvious that they planned to use Bangkok, capital of Thailand, as an army base from which to strike along the 850-mile Malay Peninsula toward Singapore.

Such detailed reports caused great alarm in Singapore, inasmuch as they suggested the Japanese would strike by land as well as by sea. It was agreed there that Japan was using the Indo-China-Thai conflict as the opening wedge to gain access to the Malay Peninsula through Thailand. All but two ports in British North Borneo were closed to Japanese shipping, despite the fact that Ambassador Shigemitsu, in his frequent trips to the London Foreign Office, reiterated that his country had no intention of attacking British or Dutch territory.

AT THE same time, the Soviet newspaper *Red Fleet* reported that a conflict was imminent among Japan, Great Britain, the United States and Australia, all of whom were preparing for a showdown. This paper also reported heavy Japanese naval concentrations off Indo-China, within striking distance of Singapore, and added that Britain was strengthening her military establishments in southeast Asia, while the United States was planning on joining British naval maneuvers in the South Pacific.

Singapore, 10,000 miles from the American West Coast, 8,000 miles from Hawaii—the United States' main Pacific bastion—and more than 1,000 miles from Manila, seemed irretrievably lost. And with Singapore, it was agreed, would go the fabulous East Indies of Columbus' dream and the whole of the Western Pacific.

Plainly, it was Singapore rather than the Netherlands East Indies that was the main goal of Japan in any southward lunge projected by her

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strategists last Spring. With Singapore conquered, the Japanese could command the Indian Ocean, cut off Australia and New Zealand, close the chief rubber and tin sources of the United States and Britain and block the vital Burma Road at the port terminus of Rangoon.

Generally considered immune from attack by sea, Singapore—an island, a city and a naval base, all in one—is vulnerable to attack by way of Siam and thence down the narrow Malay Peninsula. At the same time, military experts consider no more than five divisions of seasoned troops would be needed to overcome the Netherlands East Indies, the "torpedo-boat" navy and strong fleet of American planes based there to the contrary. A Japanese drive down the Malay Peninsula, simultaneously with the seizure of Sumatra, within sight of Singapore, would have rendered that strategic naval base useless and cut the jugular of the British Empire's lifeline in the Orient.

Then something went wrong with Japan's plans.

THE most plausible explanation is that there was an army-navy squall in Tokyo. The Japanese Army was bogged down in China and had no stomach for further adventures, particularly against a combination of American-British-Australian-Dutch forces; the Navy, on the other hand, was itching for a fight, claiming that it was as good as, if not superior to, anything afloat in the Pacific. That is a supposition, but it is the writer's guess that the Army did not want the Navy to win any laurels, in view of the embarrassing fact that the China "Incident" had been bogged down for nearly four years. The Army feared more loss of "face."

A few days after this internal schism at Tokyo came the surprise arrival of the Australian troops in force at Singapore. Japan had expected that England would call upon the Australians and New Zealanders—as she had before—to fight in the Middle East and Europe, and the arrival of such a formidable defense army in Malaya was as much a jolt to Tokyo as it was a God-sent gift to Singapore and the Malay States.

This expedition of the Australians to Singapore was, of course, before the clamor at Canberra over the supposed slaughter of Australians and New Zealanders in Africa, Greece and Crete. But there has been no question, then or now, that the Anzacs were willing to sacrifice as much in this war as in the last to preserve the Empire, no matter how loose their connection with it. The prevailing feeling in Singapore at that time was that if that island city were lost, the Empire was lost, and every effort was made to preserve it, together with the nearby Dutch possessions. With the help of the United States, Britain today is more than ever determined to retain the 217 square miles of the strategic island of Singapore, and for twenty years and at a cost of nearly $100,000,000, Britain has been building there the strongest naval base in the world.

The origin of Singapore has long been a sore point with Orientals, Malayans as well as Chinese and Japa-

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nese. To the Eastern mind, the establishment of the "Gibraltar of the East" was a much more infamous piece of Western imperialism than even the seizure of Hong Kong and the wresting of treaty ports from hapless China.

British historians, on the other hand, are proud of the brilliant empire-building of Thomas Raffles, governor of Java for five years when it was taken over by Great Britain during the Napoleonic Wars and later governor of Bencoolen on the West Coast of Sumatra and agent general to the Governor General of India. It was in this latter capacity that he realized the plan which had long been fomenting in his mind, of establishing a trade station somewhere in the East Indies to break the Dutch monopoly. At the end of January 1819, he arrived off Singapore with a small squadron, and by February 6 he had concluded with the native rulers a treaty under which Great Britain obtained the right to establish a trading station there, which he at once set about organizing. Great was the wrath of the Dutch. Great too was the timidity of the Governor of Penang, who was anxious to abandon the new settlement, but Raffles had the ear of influential people at home as well as that of the Governor General, and by June he could write, "My new colony . . . has received an accession of population reaching 5,000, principally Chinese, and their number is daily increasing. It is a child of my own."

In what may now be left of German-bombed Westminster Abbey there is an inscription under the statue of the founder of Singapore which reads:

To the Memory of
Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles,
LL.D., F.R.S.,
Lieut. Governor of Java
And First President of the Zoological Society of London.
Born 1781. Died 1826.
Selected at an early age to conduct the Government of the
British Conquest in the Indian Ocean.
By wisdom, vigor and philanthropy
He raised Java to Happiness and Prosperity
unknown under former rulers.
After the surrender of that Island to the Dutch
and during his Government in Sumatra
He founded an emporium at Singapore
Then in establishing Freedom of Person as the right of the soil
and Freedom of Trade as the right of the Port
He secured to the British Flag
The Maritime Superiority of the Eastern Seas.
Ardently attached to Science
He labored successfully to add to the knowledge
and enrich the Museums of his native land
Promoting the welfare of the people committed to his charge
He sought good of his country and the Glory of God.

THE growing realization in the past twenty years that Singapore is the main guardian of the British Empire in the East brought about the construction of the $100,000,000 naval base, with drydocks capable of cradling the greatest battleships, an anchorage fifty miles in area, and storage room to hold the combined British and American navy, together with means to provision, refuel and repair them. Craft-

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ily hidden are underground repair-shops, fuel-tanks and arsenals, while above ground railways, repair shops, docks and cranes make Singapore—deceptively languorous—appear to be a buzzing hive of activity; which, of course, it is. The base is ringed by anti-aircraft guns, pillboxes and mines. Linked to the mainland by a broad causeway, it can be destroyed by pressing a button.

The Singapore airfield is one of the largest in Asia, built on a scale of 1,000 yards diameter with a 600-foot protective belt. Constructed on a site within a shallow tidal basin, the airdrome can accommodate both land and sea bombers. With the arrival of hundreds of American-built planes late this Spring, together with millions in war supplies, tanks, trucks and guns for use in the peninsula proper, Singapore almost over night witnessed a metamorphosis into one of the most powerful of defense areas of the British Empire.

IF JAPAN "missed the bus," nevertheless Yosuke Matsuoka, the former Foreign Minister, asserted that Japan had not retreated from her position that East Asia must be organized into one economic sphere. As for warfare, he told the writer bloodshed is unnecessary. What he deplored was that "so much of Asia is dependent upon European aggressors for its whole economic outlook and living."

"Our eyes," he said, "have been concentrated on the unstable conditions in this part of the world where it is natural that oriental countries should belong to a common prosperity sphere with us in the light of geography, race, culture and history. Yet their prosperity is linked with that of Europe and America, which is another totally separate sphere in both politics and economics. It is due to this anomaly that there exists instability of livelihood in these oriental nations. The center of gravity is not where it ought to be. If the Dutch East Indies or French Indo-China should disregard the fundamental principle of co-operation with its own group and join the Anglo-American prosperity sphere, it cannot be said that they have the center of gravity in the right place. It is in this that a perpetual unstable factor exists. And it is at this that the construction of the 'East Asia Common Prosperity Spheres' is aimed. The objective is to sweep away instability, and to give the East Asiatic races a stronger economic foundation.

"We are especially careful not to fall into the footsteps of England and others in the way of exploitation and imperialism. Were we to study conditions existing in Taiwan and Chosen, and compare them with those in the Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China and India, we would readily discover that the natives of the former two are far happier and better off as regards taxation, administration and all-around social standard. It is therefore natural that we should voice our righteous indignation at the exploitation, oppression and invasion of the Orient by Europeans. We utterly renounce the theory that since England and other Western countries have been carrying out imperialistic invasion of China ever since the Opium war, Japan too

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is justified in following a similar policy to a certain extent."

Maybe that is also the reason why Japan renounced her opportunity to seize Singapore earlier in the year. But I doubt it.

The Japanese Drum up Trade

By Joaquín Soriano

Estampa, Liberal Weekly, Mexico City

JAPAN joined the Axis in order to prevent the United States from entering the War." That is the gist of an interview with the special mission which Japan has sent to the Latin-American countries.

In these times of fantastic fifth columns and historic jealousies and intrigues, the appearance in our country of these special envoys of the Rising Sun has a special significance. All the newspapers of the capital sent their star reporters to meet the courteous, coldly smiling Japanese. Questions were rained upon the head of Mr. Kiyoshi Yamagata, the plenipotentiary minister.

All of them, without exception, referred to the War. It almost seemed as though the innocent candor of the questioners concealed a wish to make Mr. Yamagata admit by a slip of the tongue what seems to be the real reason for the visit: "We have come to examine Mexico's defensive possibilities, to see whether it would be possible to invade it in order to get at the United States." Of course, this was not said. The Japanese spoke only of peace, of commercial relations and of their desire for mutual friendship. And if the interrogations of the press became too embarrassing, there was always the pretension of "not understanding Spanish sufficiently."

Mr. Yamagata, at forty-eight, is considered one of his country's most trustworthy confidential agents. He is a consummate diplomat who has been first secretary of the embassies at Brussels, Washington and London and Minister to Venezuela, and has earned his assignment to make this journey of rapprochement and observation through Latin America. Accompanying Mr. Yamagata were Mr. Sakai, secretary of the Japanese Embassy in Mexico and formerly sub-secretary of economics in his country's Ministry of Foreign Relations, and the third secretary of the Embassy, Mr. Usui. The latter knows Spanish perfectly from his years as third secretary of the Japanese Embassy at Buenos Aires, to which post he will return at the end of the present mission. Mr. Usui is an intelligent young man whose Asiatic origins are apparent only when he laughs or smiles, which he always does when he refuses to answer a question. But Mr. Usui does not tell us much. Since the United States seems to be boycotting Japanese products, he says, the Government of his country has decided to establish new and more stable markets in the Latin-American coun-

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tries. Accompanying this plausible statement, he remarks that poor Japan has almost no ships with which to implement such commercial relationships.

Concerning one problem with which he is concerned, the Japanese fisheries of Lower California, Mr. Usui said, "We must avoid suspicion, and the presence of our compatriots in the waters of Lower California is being interpreted as connected with espionage work, according to recent newspaper reports.

"We desire," he told us, "to know these countries . . . (here follows the usual speech of visitors to Mexico, with the same eternal phrases praising our magnificent climate, our beautiful women, modern cities, etc., etc.), and we are interested only in the economic aspects of our relations with these countries. . . . We would have wished to bring a present to your Chief of State, but in our country it is not customary to make such presents. . . . From here we will go to Panama, where we will stay for some time. Later we will go to Peru, then to Chile, Argentina and, finally, Brazil." He did not comment on the fact that his first call in Mexico was upon the Secretary of National Defense.

"Well, Mr. Usui, that is all very nice," we told him, "but would you explain a little contradiction which we noticed in your statement to the newspapers. We would like to know how you reconcile the fervent desire for peace which your Government professes, with its adhesion to the Rome-Berlin Axis, whose aims are by no means pacific."

Mr. Usui squirmed in his seat, laughed loudly and answered, "I do not understand your question."

We repeated the same inquiry and, after some reflection, he said: "My country joined the Axis pact to keep the War from expanding. Our purely pacifist intention was to prevent North America from joining the War."

WE DID not insist further. This was clear enough. If America enters the War, Japan would be compelled to take up arms against her. Japan's weight is intended to counterbalance that of America so that the scales will not tip too heavily in the Allies' favor.

And in the meantime, Japanese diplomats travel, smile and talk of beautiful women and the delightful climate and promise that in exchange for oil they would send us multicolored lamps and fans. Commerce must be increased at all costs, even though there are no ships to transport the goods. If there are contradictions, it is not because the Japanese lack intelligence; but they must do their work of rapprochement, particularly to the south of us where they hope to find some governments friendly to them.

"And what about the war in China?"

"Oh, that is scarcely a war. All we want is to establish a New Order. There is already a Chinese Government which is functioning normally along the lines of that New Order. Our help in strengthening this Government certainly is not waging a war, although, of course, Chinese towns and villages are occasionally destroyed. But you understand that our purpose is the establishment of a New Order, not fighting a war?"

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Husbands of the Great

By Alan Dent

John o' London's Weekly

THE saddest man in the works of Dickens—sadder even than Mr. Mell with his flute—is Mr. Jellyby, for Mr. Jellyby married a woman with a mission he did not share. In his own house he was much less important than Africa, and even less important than his neglected youngest child. When asked if Mr. J. was a nonentity in his own house, Mr. Kenge gravely gave this reply: "I can't say that, indeed, for I know nothing whatever *of* Mr. Jellyby. He may be a very superior man; but he is, so to speak, merged—Merged—in the more shining qualities of his wife."

Were the gentlemen who married shining women like Mrs. Siddons, and Mrs. Beeton, and Mrs. Henry Wood, and Mrs. Humphry Ward, sad men like Mr. Jellyby? Did they periodically "break away from the dining table" and "make rushes at the window" with the intention of throwing themselves into the area, whenever they renewed the attempt to understand their affairs or position? Did they seldom speak? Mr. Jellyby "almost always sat when he was at home with his head against the wall." Did Mr. Siddons, Mr. Beeton, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Ward do likewise, and find some consolation in walls? Did they get "very low indeed and shed tears" because their wives were as much obsessed with play-acting, or cookery-book-writing, or story-telling, as Mrs. Jellyby was with Borrioboola-Gha? Did they implore their children, groaning the while, "never to have a Mission"? Did they collapse when they gave their daughters away in marriage?

It is comforting to find, on investigating the matter, that these four actual husbands, though each was married to a Career if not to a Mission, did none of these things and that, though all four were Merged, they spoke for themselves quite a deal.

William Siddons is the one who came nearest to jumping into the area. Less drastically, he left the overwhelming Sarah and went to live at Bath "for the good of his health." But they were, before that, quite happy and friendly and fruitful for many years. They first met as children. This was in the green room of The King's Head in High Street, Worcester, when the Kemble family presented a theatrical entertainment. Sarah, aged twelve, played Rosetta in Isaac Bickerstaff's *Love in a Village*, and her future husband played Young Meadows. Some weeks later they reappeared on the same stage, Sarah playing Ariel and William Ferdinand in D'Avenant's arrangement of *The Tempest*. Siddons was a handsome young actor who had come from Birmingham with the repu-

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tation of being able to act anything from Macbeth to Pantaloon, from Hamlet to Harlequin. His later career belied this reputation; his first and chief conquest was that of Sarah's heart.

At his benefit at Brecon he improvised some doggerel about his love for the budding tragedienne, and immediately afterwards had his ears boxed by the young lady's mother, Mrs. Roger Kemble. Sarah was sent into Warwickshire to be a lady's maid, but she never forgot her William, and when she was eighteen she found him again and married him, with parental consent and tardy blessings. William shared her early struggles in the provinces.

—*Sunday Dispatch*, London

When at last Mrs. Siddons stormed London with her Isabella in *The Fatal Marriage*, we observe William in the background rather as business manager than as actor. Many triumphant years followed at Drury Lane, "the regularity of her appearances disturbed only by the birth of her children."

Mr. Siddons died at Bath in 1805, seven years before Mrs. Siddon's retirement and twenty-six years before her death. He had abandoned the stage long before he went to Bath. He is said to have been an expert judge of acting and to have given Sarah much helpful advice.

In the years of their informal separation she was often heard to speak of him with regard and even affection. She visited him at Bath in the winter before his death, and when that happened she politely desisted from acting for a fortnight. Two of the five children had predeceased their father, and Joseph Knight tells us that when news of her husband's death was brought to Mrs. Siddons "she received the intelligence with a placidity contrasting strongly with her agonies after the loss of her children."

The story of the Beetons is gentler, sadder, and altogether more nineteenth-century. She was Isabella Mayson, and he was Samuel Orchardt Beeton. She was a lovely girl of twenty when they met, and only twenty-nine when she died, immediately after the birth of her fourth son. Her world-famous book, *Household Management*, was the result of four years' incessant labor. [Mrs. Beeton and her *Household Management* are as well-known in Brit-

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ish domestic circles as Fannie Farmer and the *Boston Cooking School Cook Book* in the United States. It contains the famous recipe for cooking a hare which begins, "First catch your hare."] It is unlikely that anyone has ever troubled to read its admirable preface: "Men are now so well served out of doors—at clubs, hotels and restaurants—that, to compete with the attractions of these places, a mistress must be thoroughly acquainted with the theory and practice of cookery, as well as all the other arts of making and keeping a comfortable home."

Of our particular quartet Mr. Beeton was the one least like Mr. Jellyby. He was active and cheerful, and if Merged was merged willingly. He was a busy editor and publisher. He brought out his wife's book, and a vast number of other publications on subjects ranging between arithmetic and zoology. I find "Beeton, S. O." on several consecutive pages of the British Museum catalogue. But I do not find him in any edition of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. To that dusty, overcrowded mausoleum's disgrace, I cannot find Mrs. Beeton either! That they were a happy couple seems certain. It may be said of Mrs. Beeton that her household management began at home. Mr. Beeton survived his wife some twelve years, and pulmonary disease carried him off in 1877.

THE gentleman who turned Ellen Price into Mrs. Henry Wood was a shipping agent who lived in France. It was not until after his death that Mrs. Henry Wood came permanently to live in England and began her long series of old-fashioned but genteelly exciting novels [of which *East Lynne* is best known to American readers]. From the fond and filial *Memorials* published by their son in 1895, I gather that his father was loving and kind to his mother and that Charles Wood himself was well-brought-up, and never ran into Peepy Jellyby's danger of having his head stuck between two iron-railings from which one parent was too preoccupied and the other too abstracted to extricate him.

One guesses the Henry Woods to have been far more like the young couple in *Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles* whose happiness was suddenly shipwrecked by the husband's early death. Describing that event, Mrs. Wood wrote straight from her heart. It is one of the most harrowing death-scenes in the whole of English fiction, and it is not nearly so mawkish as Dickens's notorious Nell and Paul giving up their unconscionable ghosts.

As for Thomas Humphry Ward, it is impossible to read the biography of Mrs. Humphry Ward—an immensely competent book written by her daughter, Mrs. Trevelyan—without feeling that he was the biggest Merger of our four. I even go so far as to suspect that he sometimes had his head quite near the wall. Where was it, for example, when that much more colorful personality, Henry James, came to their Hertfordshire house for the week-end?

There is a delightful letter from James to Mrs. Ward written in 1895. It is too long to reproduce here, but it concludes: "I hope you won't abandon *anything* that you have shewn you

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can do, but only go on with this *and* that—and the other—especially the other! Yours, dear Mrs. Ward, most truly, Henry James." There is also a delightful photograph showing this blest pair walking on a lawn, cogitating of this and that and the other, and apparently quite unconscious of the daisies smiling up at them. (Mrs. Jellyby with her bright eyes fixed on the left bank of the Niger could hardly have looked less aware of her immediate surroundings!)

But it must not for a moment be supposed that the Humphry Ward matrimonial alliance was, as in the Jellyby case, merely "the union of mind and matter." The few facts to be gleaned about Ward from his wife's biography are impressive. She first met him in the winter of 1870 when she was Mary Arnold, and he was Fellow and Tutor of Brasenose; and "between him and herself an instant attraction became manifest." He was the son of a clergyman in the City. The course of their true love ran smoothly, and in 1871 they were engaged, the lady being then just twenty. Ten months later Dean Stanley married them. They lived happily at Oxford, and made a habit of arising at five-thirty in the morning to study Greek. "She was, of course, no scholar, in the ordinary sense, and her 'quantities,' both in Greek and Latin, frequently produced a raucous cry from her husband, to whom the correct thing was, somehow, second nature." The biography says so!

From 1880 onwards Humphry Ward was a leader-writer on *The Times*. He seems by no means to have resented that most distinguished form of anonymity, and the reflected fame brought to him by his wife's vastly popular, earnest and stuffy novels seems to have pleased him sufficiently. He also edited some lives of the eminent Victorians. The only other mention of him in the biography is an implication that he was himself at death's door when Mrs. Humphry Ward died in 1920. Needless to add that this solemn book does not contain that charming old story of Mr. Humphry Ward being invited to dine by a stockbroker in a note which concluded: "If there is a Mrs. W., please bring her along as well."

Forget the Bastille!

The Vichy Government does all it can to obliterate the traditions of the Revolution and the Republic. So, the Fourteenth of July has been abolished, and May 1 was made the national holiday of 1941, in imitation of the Nazis, who took advantage of the "Socialist" in their party name to adopt the former international labor holiday, with the intention of taking the wind out of the combined sails of the German trade-union movement and the Socialists and Communists.

—*Le Jour*, Montreal

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Whatever the War's outcome, that Pacific island wants independence

New Caledonia Stands Alone

By W. G. BURCHETT

Austral-Asiatic Bulletin

(Editor's Note: The importance of the declaration of the New Caledonians, last September, of their allegiance to General de Gaulle's Free French Government was out of proportion to the size of their island [approximately 150 by 30 miles], because of its resources of minerals essential in the war. Besides nickel, there are rich deposits of chrome, cobalt, iron and manganese; other minerals found there are antimony, mercury, cinnabar, silver, gold, lead and copper. Its location, half way between Australia and the Fiji Islands, gives it a prominent place in the Far Eastern picture.)

AFTER more than half a year has passed away since the events in September last year, which shook New Caledonia from top to bottom, it is easier to assess the significance of these events, and the possible future trend of affairs in the colony.

The minor revolution that cleared away the pro-Vichy elements from the administration of the colony, was fed by the kindling of a store of grievances accumulated over many years. It represented not only the desire to continue the fight against the Axis Powers, but the first stirrings of a movement for an autonomous republic in New Caledonia. Indeed, the first demand presented to the Conseil-General (local governing body) after the collapse of France, was a petition signed by 1,100 Noumean residents, demanding complete autonomy.

Whatever happens to the rest of the French Empire, it seems fairly certain that New Caledonia will never revert to her former status as a mere dependency of France, represented in Paris by a deputy who has never seen the colony, and subject to all sorts of petty annoyances by people who understand nothing of the local needs of New Caledonia.

The administrators sent out from

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France were often people chosen by representatives of metropolitan business interests in the colony. Local people claim that such "metropolitans" came only to serve the interests of their respective companies, with no thought for the welfare of the colony.

Those that were not tied up with big business interests, were usually looked upon as tourists making the grand tour. A few years in Algeria, then the West Indies, Tahiti, New Hebrides, New Caledonia, Indo-China, and then back home to retire on their pensions; stopping in no place long enough to do more than necessary to hold their position.

These "metropolitans" have now been replaced by local people, and for the first time since the founding of the colony, the New Caledonians feel they can take a hand in shaping the destiny of their country. At present New Caledonia is administered by the Governor with the assistance of an advisory council (Conseil d'Administration). The governor has the power to override the council, and—if he thinks fit—dismiss it. The danger of this system became obvious after the collapse of France when Pelicier and later Denis both assumed dictatorial powers, declaring for Vichy in spite of opposition from their advisory councils.

The economic development of the colony has been spasmodic and haphazard. From the first days the initiative passed to the hands of outsiders, mainly English and Australians. Much of the prospecting and mining both in the early days and today, has been carried out by non-French people. In general—except for the notable exception of the Société le Nickel—it is only where American, British or Japanese capital has been involved, that mining is carried out on anything like a scientific basis.

The colony was too far away to encourage French investors, and in many cases money spent in sending representatives out to report on mines, etc., has been squandered. One such notorious case was that of an expert sent out to report on and—if possible—exploit the "Metetrice" silver and zinc mine on the Diahot River, North Caledonia. Timber houses and beautiful furniture were sent out, the expert even demanded an airplane so that he could go each morning to Noumea to fetch his mail. Eventually he compromised and accepted a speed-boat. He stayed in the colony for twelve months, during which time he entertained lavishly. After one year 2,000 tons of ore had been extracted from the mine, and it still stands there on the platforms as it was taken out. Not one ton was ever sent away. The expert went back to France, and buildings and furniture were put up for public auction.

THE wealth of the country is its mines. The five greatest mining concerns are the Société le Nickel, Tiabaghi, Fantoche, Chagrin, and the Japanese-controlled Société le Fer. In the first named company, shareholders all live outside New Caledonia. It is an international company with prominent capitalists from most countries in Europe, and Nickelmond in Canada holding blocks of shares. It holds unexploited ore concessions all over the

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country, and as the only other nickel-mining groups, the "Petits Minieres," depend on the Société le Nickel to buy their output, it means that Société le Nickel by arrangement with Nickel-mond Canada, can regulate the nickel output of New Caledonia.

The Société le Nickel comes in for a good deal of criticism here, because of a dispute over a hydroelectric scheme which was to give cheap lighting to Noumea. The Nickel Company was given a concession to utilize the waterfalls of the Yate River to provide electric power for their smelters, on condition that they extended the system to provide Noumea with lighting. It was estimated that Noumea could be supplied by this means at the low rate of 60 centimes (about 2 cents) per kilowatt. After the plant had been installed, however, the Nickel Company discovered a cheaper method of treating their ores at Noumea without utilizing electric power. When the government asked when the power lines would come across Noumea, the Nickel Company coolly told them that the deal was off. They brought out a representative from Unelco, France, who installed a power house in Noumea, as a result of which electric lighting costs three francs (nearly 12 cents) a kilowatt.

Tiebaghi, Fantoche and Chagrin chrome mines are controlled by British, American and Australian-French capital respectively. Nominally all three companies are French, because according to local law at least two-thirds of the directors of any company in New Caledonia must be French. The usual method is to float a nominal company with small capital with the requisite number of French directors, while most of the capital is subscribed abroad and a syndicate formed to buy from the nominal company.

THIS system has its advantages and disadvantages. For the British and Americans the advantage is that—as a French company—they can make use of the cheap indentured labor, which the laws of their own country forbid. Also—as in the case of the British-controlled Ouaco meat works—they are at times entitled to French subsidies.

On the other hand, the system lends itself to abuse. Companies can pick men who they think may be useful to them, and appoint them as salaried directors. It can be used as a political expedient. It is a very convenient way to buy somebody without offering him an actual bribe. Many of those pro-Vichy elements who were expelled from the colony, were those who held directorates, and thus received regular subsidies from Japanese-controlled companies. Small wonder that they were prepared to sell all of New Caledonia's produce to Japan after the downfall of France.

The root cause of this drift in economic affairs in New Caledonia is to be found in the metropolitan control of the colony. When people have no control over the affairs of their country, they seem to take little interest in fostering its development. There is a feeling of *laissez-aller*, they seem to say, "We can't do anything about it, anyway, so why worry!" They feel that the colony does not belong to

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them, and that is fatal to progressive development.

There is a general feeling that something should be done about the Japanese iron concession at Goro, and from this feeling, coupled with the prejudice against the Société le Nickel, has sprung the idea that the mines should all be taken over by the government and worked for the benefit of the colony as a whole. But there is no formulated public opinion, it is not directed into any definite channels, and even when it is, it has no way of making itself articulate. Probably because there are no organized political parties, there is no cohesion of viewpoint.

Because of this, it is hard to state a definite attitude towards future relations with Australia. Ninety-five per cent of the people are certain that only by declaring for de Gaulle, and having the protection of Australia, have they been saved from Japan. They feel also that the solution of the island's economic problems lies in closer co-operation with Australia. The high tariffs on Australian goods have always been a bone of contention between Noumea and Paris. Some feel that political as well as economic co-operation is desirable, and envisage complete local autonomy with a deputy to represent the colony at Canberra on foreign affairs and defense.

It is the man in the street, and more particularly the man in the bush—the people who made the September revolution—who are the most outspoken in demanding closer ties with Australia. They are pioneers, and have a feeling of solidarity with Australians on that account, feeling that both countries are younger children who have had to face the same problems.

One must not think, however, that they are anti-French. They are definitely not, but they are anti-bureaucratic, and have suffered many years from Paris centralized control. They pride themselves that they are more French than the French, but they feel that now at least their colony is old enough to stand on its feet, and decide such matters as economic policy and foreign relations for itself.

Because of reasons of *bon voisinage*, no less than because of the unique strategic position New Caledonia occupies, Australia should do her utmost to see that the ties uniting the two countries are still further strengthened.

Because He 'Gave Away' Greenland

Some time ago, shortly after Henrik Kauffmann, the Danish Minister in Washington, had signed the treaty giving the United States certain rights in Greenland, it was reported that the Danish Government had "released" him from his position, though the United States continues to recognize him.

The *Statstidende*, Denmark's official gazette, has now published the government order seizing all Kauffmann's property in Denmark.

—*Nordlyset* (Danish-Language Weekly), New York

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A Post-Mortem on Greece

By HELGE KNUDSEN

Special Correspondent, *Svenska Dagbladet*, Stockholm Conservative Daily

THREE days after the German invaders entered Athens, a "national" government, in opposition to the government that had fled to Crete, moved into the Royal Palace. General George Tsolakoglo is the head of the new cabinet, which consists in the main of the General's brothers-in-arms. When the Italo-Greek War started, General Tsolakoglo commanded the Third Army Division at Salonika; later he became commander of the entire Albanian front, as well as of Macedonia and Epirus.

The General, a man in his late fifties, received me in his office. When I asked him directly whether his government might be compared with the régime of Quisling, who aims at outright union with the Axis, or with the "cabinet of collaboration" of Marshal Pétain, General Tsolakoglo did not give a plain answer:

"We count upon a German victory. The form of our new government is not yet definite. We act as the nation's delegates and will do what seems best for the country. Our country is poor. We therefore depend on aid from Germany and from the Axis. The fate of Greece will be decided only at the final peace conference."

"Will the new government be democratic or authoritarian?"

"I cannot say anything yet. Of course, national ideals will lead Greece, but it is for the people to decide what form of government they want."

"Will the monarchy return?"

"That also depends upon the people. But it is unlikely that King George will come to the throne again. My government is of the opinion that the situation in which we now find ourselves was provoked by the King himself. He did not fulfill his duty, and that led his nation to disaster."

The General talked at length of the steps which led to his country's defeat. No staff talks were ever held with Yugoslavia, because time was too short. Only 40,000 British soldiers had come to the aid of Greece, he said. He had expected Britain to send more generous help. British air assistance was also inadequate, and the Greeks themselves had no air force of consequence.

"It was a mistake to permit the British to come to Greece at all," the General protested. "It was decided upon against the will of the military leaders, and the King had given his generals the promise that the British would not be asked for aid. Germany would not have aided Italy if Greece had not called in the British. Greece should

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never have taken up arms against Germany; the Greco-German War should never have been fought."

"It is reported that moving scenes took place at Piraeus when the British soldiers left Greek soil," I said. "Greek women showered the soldiers with flowers and expressed hope that they would return."

The General answered that he had not witnessed such scenes. He continued:

"We have a serious supply problem on our hands. But Greece now counts upon aid from Germany, which has promised to supply us with food and with raw materials for our industries. The government is determined to do everything to reduce unemployment, and will do its best to get as much as possible out of the soil. The government also intends to bring to trial those who are responsible for our defeat. We are going to have our own Riom trials." The General declined to name the "war guilt" defendants. Before leaving, I asked General Tsolakoglo whether Greece would cede parts of her territory to neighboring countries. There is much to be read between the lines of his answer.

"We are convinced that Hitler will let us retain those parts of our country which are purely Greek in character."

Iron Crosses

The Iron Cross, a medal which can be won by soldiers as well as officers, was created on March 17, 1813, in a proclamation of King Frederic Wilhelm III of Prussia, during the so-called German wars of liberation against Napoleon I.

There are two kinds of Iron Crosses, first and second class. Comparatively few first-class Iron Crosses have been awarded, but from the time it was established up to the end of World War I, the second-class Cross had been awarded five and a half million times.

During the Franco-Prussian War, when the Iron Cross was revived, 1,200 Iron Crosses I and almost half a million Iron Crosses II were distributed. The Iron Cross was again revived during the first World War when 218,000 of the 13,400,000 combatants on the side of the Central Powers received Iron Cross I. Just as Italian officers with British and French war decorations have been captured by the British, there are a number of Turkish officers who have received the Iron Cross. Hitler has added new extra distinctions of several classes to the two Crosses, such as one to be worn over the neck and another with silver oak leaves, which makes its owner a knight.

—*Signal*, Berlin

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The Press of Japan

A 'Free Institution'

By Lincoln Hall

THE greatest newspaper circulation in the world is claimed by the Tokyo *Nichi Nichi* and its companion paper the Osaka *Mainichi*, with about 5,000,000 readers daily, 3,000,000 in Tokyo alone. These are but two papers of more than 1,000 published in Japan—a country smaller than the State of California, but with a population of almost 75,000,000 compared to California's 11,000,000. These figures startle a Western newspaper man, but some of the facts behind the Japanese press are even more sensational from the viewpoint of those of the occidental Fourth Estate.

In the Japanese press, the induction into the newspaper game is something more deliberate. One who becomes a journalist goes about his task very seriously. After taking a course in political science, languages and world history—a course similar to an arts-and-science collusion in an American college—the budding journalist of Japan must pass a tough examination. Of the thousands of graduates of Japanese universities, about twenty-five men a year are "accepted" by the press.

Cub reporters receive a salary of about 80 yen a month—the theoretical equivalent to $80 in the United States but actually $20 in our money.

Journalism in Japan is a springboard to politics. This is a logical outlook, in view of the fact that Japanese newspapermen are so excellently trained, not only in domestic affairs but in world politics. It is not unusual for an editor to quit his job to run for a seat in the Imperial Diet. At the same time, political writers do not often run for elective office, because, like their American confrères, they happen to know a little bit too much, and regard politics as a racket.

While the Japanese press has a free hand in reporting the news of the world, and its columnists have carte blanche, censorship is another story. It is not stringent; it is under the direction of the Ministry of Home Affairs, which corresponds to the Department of the Interior at Washington.

Japan claims that it has a free press, but it functions much like the press of England and Canada, where restrictions are even more severe. In short, the press invokes its own censorship, the editor being the judge as to whether given news articles should be freely circulated—weather reports, ship sailings and reports of similar nature, which may be of benefit to any possible enemy, being suppressed in some papers and perhaps not in others.

Political columnists are allowed the

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widest latitude, and it is not uncommon to pick up a Japanese newspaper and read every sort of condemnation of the Government and its policy. The only absolute tabu is criticism or doubt about the events and private life in the Imperial Palace.

On the other hand, it is not infrequent for the metropolitan police—acting under the Ministry of Home Affairs—to pounce upon some editor and confiscate his whole edition, if it happens to run contrary to policies of the Government. For this reason, newspapers hire what are known as "jail editors," people who actually take the rap for the real editor himself. On other occasions, subscribers may find whole columns of their paper black-inked out. Such censorship may or may not concern national affairs but may involve the private life of some citizen. A Walter Winchell would be impossible in Japan.

TO students of journalism, a book by Kanesada Hanazono, *The Development of Japanese Journalism*, is enlightening. Although published in 1924, it is the only book in English that describes Japan's Fourth Estate. In the introduction, Sherard Vines writes:

"The Americanization of so much of modern journalism, with its startling headlines and deterioration in language, is to be deplored; but perhaps it was inevitable. The new type of journalism undoubtedly increased the [Japanese] circulations, and proprietors in keen competition for the upper- and lower-middle-class public could not afford to disregard it. How far American methods have influenced the press in Japan is a question that might be further explored: but Mr. Hanazono mentions the cheapening policy and the huge circulation of over half a million—and the experiences of Japanese press representatives in America. As for the Japanese-owned English papers, their language is distinctly less slangy (and, consequently, more dignified) than that of a popular American journal, though from time to time Americanisms like 'peeved' and 'raps' detract from the otherwise remarkable excellence of the English. Mr. Hanazono throws out some highly suggestive hints about the future; on the subject of type, it is indeed interesting to find that he says, 'it can be safely predicted that papers printed with Roman letters or Japanese Kana will appear in the future.' Such a step would prove to be of inestimable benefit, I feel sure, especially in promoting closer and more cordial relations with foreigners, since 'a reading knowledge' under present circumstances is vouchsafed only to the few whose business or privilege it is to have leisure for this study."

In old Japan, some form of public announcement was issued from time to time, like the Acta Diurna of the era of the Roman Empire, but perhaps the history of newspaper publications in Nippon may be said to begin with the *Yomiuri*, the oldest semblance of the newspaper, the word meaning literally "reading aloud and selling." The *Yomiuri* sheets were so named because the vendors read aloud the contents of the newspaper on the street while soliciting buyers. The *Yomiuri* sheets

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were essentially the *Flugblatt* of the Middle Ages of Europe. They consisted of single printed sheets, or pamphlets of several pages, recording the latest events of the period. Even in those days the progress of wood-block prints permitted the appearance of illustrations in the sheets. In many cases the illustrations were the outstanding feature, and the descriptive matter was of secondary importance. In this respect the *Yomiuri* differed from the *Flugblatt* of Europe.

Old records are lacking to identify the publishers of the *Yomiuri*, but it appears that the publishers of newspapers, or what served as newspapers, in the earlier part of the Tokugawa period (about 250 years before the Restoration of Meiji, 1868) were men of little honor. Even at the end of the Tokugawa period it appears that the publishers of the *Yomiuri* were men of such low social status that they were not permitted to enter the society of woodblock printers. It is, however, considered likely that this early form of newspaper failed to make any progress owing to government pressure. The *Yomiuri* carried reports that were often inflammatory and distasteful to the government. Suspension of publication was ordered so frequently that no decent publishers dared to take them up.

PRINTING of the *Yomiuri* sheets was done by wood-block prints. The contents of the *Yomiuri* sheets can generally be divided into two, prose and poetry. A perusal of those *Yomiuri* sheets still extant shows that at the outset of the development, the chief interest of the sheets lay in the illustrations. What are believed to be the oldest *Yomiuri* have illustrations of the Battle of the Osaka Natsu-no-jin in May in the first year of the era of Genna (1615), accompanied by descriptive matter. Judging from the frequent issuance of suppression or suspension orders, *Yomiuri* sheets appear to have been published and sold in abundance during the eras of Empo (1673-81), Jokyo (1684-88) and Genroku (1688-1704).

Because the stories were written by men of little reputation, the contents of *Yomiuri* sheets in many cases were repellent in tone. Immediately before and after the Restoration of Meiji (1868), accounts of the civil disturbances were written, but by this time the number of *Yomiuri* sheets had considerably decreased owing to the appearance of newspapers in the more modern sense of the term.

Many of Japan's newspapers today represent various factions, such as the Army and Navy or the conservative groups in the nation's politics. Nevertheless, the Nipponese press, no matter what its political hue, covers the world and the Japanese Empire as thoroughly as possible.

Coverage of a news story in Japan is a fabulous thing for a Western journalist to observe. Whereas, in New York City, Chicago or San Francisco, a paper can at most assign a reporter and a cameraman to a job, a Japanese paper has, as a rule, some 500 staff members from which to choose. The result is that every conceivable angle of the story is covered by anywhere from five to fifty men, depending on the

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newsworthiness of the story itself. World events are covered in much the same way, which accounts for what might seem to be overstaffing of the offices of Japan's correspondents abroad.

Japanese Journalism in Transition

By Toshio Kamba

Kaizo, Tokyo

SINCE the advent of national control, Japanese journalism has been passing through a stage which might well be described as a depression. Some seem to think that journalism still retains its power and authority and that a return of prosperity in the near future can be legitimately anticipated. My pessimistic view, however, is conditioned on the continuance of the conditions under which Japanese journalism is now working, for so long as these conditions prevail, the press will never be able to recover its opinion-guiding power. Recent articles on political and other subjects seldom express the writer's own impressions or belief. They are almost exclusively explanations of ordinances or regulations recently promulgated or of the Government's important new policies. Criticism with no critical spirit or independent thinking is the order of the day. The whole thing is due, I believe, to the fact that strong State control over all fields of national economy has become necessary as a means to meet the extraordinary situation now facing the country. Since this situation is likely to last at least five years more, we must expect increased governmental control over the freedom of speech. In that case, the critical world, which represents true public opinion, will cease to exist. It is futile to attempt to recover this former state of criticism, and at best we can merely make preparations for rebuilding our structure at some opportune time in the future. In these circumstances, the most important thing to do now is to review and firmly grasp the essence of journalism which forms part and parcel of this critical world.

In this connection, I recall an article by Mr. Sugiyama printed in the magazine section of the Tokyo *Asahi*. He has long impressed me as a typical journalist. He boldly states that so long as journalism is bound up with commercialism it does not fit in with the new age which absolutely rejects commercialism, and that if journalism is to live in this new age, it must be completely reformed instead of being patched up. I fully endorse this opinion. It is essential that Japanese journalism undertake a thorough-going self-inspection. It has long been controlled by commercialism, which aims solely at profit-making. The present tendency in journalism is blindly to echo national policies, refraining from frank criticism as far as possible. It has, however, failed to re-invigorate our critical world because of its incon-

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PALO ALTO

sistent attitude, for while it is based still on commercialism, it also strives to keep in step with the Government's policies. This ignominious inconsistency makes Japanese journalism unable to fulfill its function as an organ of criticism.

But as the press is one of the important institutions of national life, it must be kept alive by reforming its structure. Thus, it is pertinent here to consider the possibilities of the Japan Publication Culture Association (Nippon Shuppan Bunka Kyokai) which is scheduled to begin activities shortly. This institution will undoubtedly go some way in controlling the publishing world, and will have an effect on journalism; yet it is open to question whether this effect will go deep enough. All that can be expected is than an effective quantitative control in the distribution of newsprint as well as the prevention of the appearance of undesirable publications will be achieved. If the Association pursues an unintelligent policy, there may appear numerous cheap, time-serving publications. It is a matter of great importance for the Association to sever the tie between the press and commercialism, for until this is achieved no real improvements can be anticipated.

IF THE structure of journalism remains essentially unchanged and outwardly co-operates with national control, what will be the result? Journalism will be partially reformed, but it might be depressed more than ever, for by continuing to co-operate with national policies blindly, it will lose its critical spirit which is after all its most essential quality. This possibility is already evident. It is out of the question to expect the press to display its real power so long as its will or desire remains curbed. That is why journalism confines its activities to the explanation of newly introduced bills during the Diet session or to explanations of opposing elements in the National Service Association. Indeed, journalism appears to have forgotten its mission—the criticism of all phenomena, social, political, or economic, from its own point of view and absolutely uninfluenced by any external factors.

First of all, the press must rid itself of commercialism. Nevertheless, should commercialism be inseparably combined with the capitalistic structure of modern society, the fulfillment of this first requsite will be a question of greater and more far-reaching significance, requiring a more effective solution than a partial surgical operation on the body of the press. As things now stand, it is at least necessary to adjust relations between the press and commercialism to the extent of preventing the evils of the latter from cropping out. Another requisite is that the will of journalism be based on a national viewpoint at all times. This does not mean that journalism must serve time blindly, but, on the contrary, it means that its critical spirit must influence politics and not be influenced by politics. The press must be free to criticize statesmen in power and give wise counsel whenever deemed necessary. To this end, it is essential that journalism be politically conscious.

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Five Men Rule the U. S. S. R.

By VLADIMIR KALMYKOW

A FIVE-MAN committee now rules the Soviet Union. All governmental and party organs defer to its orders. The entire military, political, economic and social life of the country is being channeled in one strong direction—against Hitler.

Stalin, the leader of the Communist party and head of the Soviet Government, is, naturally, the chairman of this committee. The other four members are K. E. Voroshilov, V. M. Molotov, L. P. Beria and G. M. Malenkov. Who are these men and why were they chosen to take supreme command of their country in its hour of danger?

Voroshilov is Stalin's link with the armed forces of the Soviet Union. In this inner War Cabinet he fills the combined jobs of our Secretaries of War, Navy and Air, while the War Commissar, Marshal Timoshenko (see page 539), occupies a position closer to that of the United States Chief of Staff, General George C. Marshall, than to that of Henry L. Stimson with the similar title of Secretary of War.

Curiously enough Voroshilov started his military career in action against Germany. A simple metal-worker, he headed a detachment of 600 men which fought its way out of an enemy encirclement during the German occupation of the Ukraine in 1918. He cooperated with Stalin in a brilliant defense of Tsaritsin against the White armies in the Russian Civil War. This military partnership continued in action against Denikin, the Poles and Baron Wrangel. Now, twenty years later, it is resumed on an even larger scale.

Viacheslav Molotov, vice premier of the Council of People's Commissars, is another of Stalin's long-time aides and supporters. A man with an enormous capacity for work and great executive talent, he will handle administrative and industrial affairs in the inner War Cabinet. He is well acquainted with these tasks, since he has occupied the post of chairman of the council of People's Commissars—the Soviet Union's chief executive position—from 1930 to May 1941 and has reported on the progress of successive five-year plans to congresses of his party.

The last two men in the War Cabinet are practically unknown to the American public. They have been little publicized even inside the Soviet Union, but their qualifications are important enough to have elevated them to their high position. Beria is forty-two and Malenkov forty years old, a difference of twenty years between them and their colleagues.

Lavrenti Beria is a Caucasian by birth. In 1921 he was one of the leaders of the Cheka, or secret police, in Transcaucasia. Since then he has risen high in that organization, under its

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various names, becoming People's Commissar of the Interior—head of the Secret Police—in 1938, a post he still holds. Beria's job is to counteract the countless spies, saboteurs and fifth columnists sent from Germany and to suppress any attempts to foment dissatisfaction and rebellion among the Soviet population.

Gregory Malenkov, one of the four secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist party, has the extremely important job of Director of Party Cadres; in other words, the appointment or the removal of men in key positions throughout the country. Some of these men he will have to send to almost certain death, say, for work behind the lines occupied by the German Army. He also made a very frank speech criticizing the progress of Soviet industry in February of this year.

All of these men have known years of danger and obstinate struggle against great odds. For many years everything in the Soviet Union has been subordinated to one thing—the danger of invasion and preparations to meet it. They are even prepared, if necessary, to abandon Moscow and retire beyond the Urals, to Sverdlovsk among the industrial plants provided by the foresight of the various five-year-plans.

(A Washington dispatch to *The New York Times*, dated July 15, quoted authoritative sources as saying that certain Soviet government departments had already left Moscow and would be established henceforth at Kazan, about 450 miles east of Moscow. Sverdlovsk, lying beyond the Urals, is approximately another 450 miles east of Kazan.)

Another Definition of War Aims

Memo in *Le Jour*, Montreal, to the French-Canadian rabidly pro-Nazi daily *Le Devoir*: "*Do You Know Why the British Empire Fights?*"

It is to allow all the anti-Britishers of the World, to allow all such corrupt sheets as *Le Devoir*, to all the enemies of democracy, to all who criticize the present régime, who condemn our system, to all those who think they have to oppose everything that the Government decides, to allow them to continue freely their work of opposition, of criticism and of discord.

Because under a régime like Hitler's, *Le Devoir* would have to close shop and all the opponents of the established régime would be forced to keep prudently silent, if they do not wish to fill the concentration camps or ot get a dozen bullets into their hides. It is to safeguard all these liberties, of which *Le Devoir* profits so amply to harm it, that the British Empire fights.

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The Negus Looks for His Fortune

By 'MILES'

Le Jour, Montreal Liberal Daily

SOME time before the outbreak of the present War, the unfortunate magistrates of the Paris Tribunal were called upon to render judgment in the suit of "Emperor Haile Selassie vs. the Kingdom of Italy." This embarrassing case, which has been inherited by the Vichy Government, will undoubtedly be settled by the outcome of the War, rather than in any French court. The stake at issue is about two million dollars worth of shares in the very prosperous French Addis Abbaba-Djibouti Railroad Company, which operates the only railroad from the capital of Ethiopia to the capital of French Somaliland.

When, in 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia and Haile Selassie was unable to obtain help from the civilized world —neither from the League of Nations nor from France or England—the Negus, Faithful Lion of Judah, the Light of the World and descendent of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, was forced to seek refuge in Bath, England, but refused to abdicate or to recognize the legality of the Italian conquest. But the maintenance of a court, even in exile, and of legations throughout the world costs money, and the few cases of gold which had been salvaged from the treasury of the Ethiopian Empire began to diminish rapidly.

So, in 1936, the Sovereign decided to sell his holdings in the Addis Abbaba-Djibouti Railroad Company, whose headquarters were in Paris, and asked the Company to convert his holdings into bearer shares to facilitate their sale. The president of the board of directors of the Company informed His Majesty that an attorney had appeared before the board to block any transfer of the shares or their dividends and to claim ownership of them in the name of the King of Italy who had declared himself, by right of conquest, the Emperor of Ethiopia. "I," argued the King, "am the one who possesses *de facto* the territories and the capital of this Empire. A sovereign decision of my Government has made me the Emperor and, as the shares are registered under the name of the *Emperor of Ethiopia*, they belong to me without any necessity for transfer and in claiming them, Mr. Haile Selassie is attempting to dispossess the real owner."

The Negus, who still naively believed in European justice, took his case to the Parisian courts, to the discomforture of the magistrates who tried in vain to obtain the opinions of a rapid succession of Ministers of Foreign Affairs: Georges Bonnet did not want to offend his Fascist friends; Yvon Delbos did not dare; Paul Bon-

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cour had no time; and none of them would make a direct answer. For about two years there was no progress in the matter. Finally the court decided upon an ambiguous compromise, that Haile Selassie was Emperor by right but the King of Italy *de facto* and that consequently the shares should remain in the possession of the railroad company until a more final decision could be made.

This, of course, satisfied neither party. Haile Selassie could obtain no money and the Italian Government could not use the shares to obtain a majority control of the Company, as it had hoped.

While the trial was still in progress, in 1937, Mussolini, in the name of the King of Italy, persuaded His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, that he should act as intermediary in the name of peace itself. The Negus received a visit in England from an eminent Papal representative who offered him on behalf of Italy a million pounds sterling in return for his abdication, to be accompanied by assignment to Italy of his shares in the railroad.

But, as the Italians have said repeatedly, the Ethiopians are savages and their Chief, not being civilized, believes in a divine justice. With great dignity, the Christian descendant of Biblical kings answered the Papal emissary with a variation of Biblical words: "I do *not* sell my birthright for a mess of pottage."

Haile Selassie has now returned victorious to Addis Abbaba, acclaimed by his people and again Emperor both by right and *de facto*, and he has announced his intention of reopening his claims to his railroad shares, in the French courts. The situation is more complicated than ever. Legally, Haile Selassie is now incontestably owner of the shares, but by the terms of the Franco-Italian armistice, the Addis Abbaba-Djibouti Railroad, including the Emperor's stock in it, was turned over to Italy. It is unlikely that the Vichy Government could persuade Mussolini to return Haile Selassie's property to him. And it is unlikely that such French leaders as Pierre Laval—who, as Foreign Minister at the time of the Italian-Ethiopian war, was largely responsible for blocking any aid to Ethiopia—would work very hard for the rights of the reinstated Negus. For a final settlement, Haile Selassie will have to wait until the victory of the Allies and the day when even black sovereigns who believe in justice will secure it.

Walt Disney Should Reimburse Them

Seventeen inhabitants of Amsterdam were recently fined by the occupation authorities because, during an RAF raid, they were found standing in a street, waving encouragement to the British planes and singing: "Who's afraid of the big, bad wolf?"

—*Die Zeitung*, London

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As Others See Us

An Evacuee at School

By Thelma Widoger (Aged 15)

Yorkshire Post, Leeds

WALKING into school through beautiful grounds, taking off my coat and shoes in the cloakroom while talking to several girl friends and hastening up a few steps to a familiar classroom—that was what nine years at a Leeds school had taught me to enjoy and take for granted.

Never did I anticipate rushing from a bus through long corridors to a waiting queue outside the lift, then diving from the fifth floor to the fourth, bounding along another corridor only to find that I had reached Room 420 in plenty of time and that the other forty-five girls of my section were all talking at the top of their voices in a dozen different languages.

The change from the Leeds Girls' High School to the Julia Richman High School of New York was certainly a great one, and it has taken me fully two months to settle down in this tremendous cosmopolitan highway of learning.

The American school, which is free, admitted me at once. I needed no entrance examination, but every girl takes an intelligence test known as the I.Q.

There are special teachers in charge of the European girls, and they admitted about one hundred European students during the Autumn.

Standing in the entrance of the classroom I see a mixed crowd of girls. They are all dressed to suit their varied tastes as there is no uniform. Many of the girls wear jumpers and skirts and flat-heeled, rubber-soled shoes.

Some girls go to the other extreme and wear beautiful but most unsuitable dresses from Fifth Avenue shops, and expensive high-heeled shoes.

Brightly colored socks are very popular and girls of seventeen and eighteen walk around school with bare legs.

There are no restrictions on the wearing of jewelry, so that rings, jangling bracelets, brooches and even earrings are in evidence.

Hair styles are worn high this season with elaborate curls on top, and the weirdest concoctions can be seen everywhere.

Every girl, from the age of thirteen upward, is plastered with lipstick, rouge, colored nail polish and powder, and throughout the day can be seen doing her hair and improving her face.

The teachers, too, wear bright red lipstick and most of them have husbands and children at home. They were shocked at being called mistresses, as they are called teachers over here—the word "mistress" has quite a different meaning. The head mistress

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or head master is called the principal.

The faces show many different origins. There are crowds of colored girls and one or two Chinese, Japanese and Red Indians. Two Parisiennes, slim and pretty, jabber away in French, while other French-speaking beauties hail from Belgium or Morocco.

You can see the broader German fraulein or the dark-haired Spaniard or Italian. Perhaps you may catch a glimpse of the dark-skinned South American or Puerto Rican wandering by, talking away in their different languages or, maybe, a Rumanian and a Russian or a Greek and an Italian are in very close conference over an algebra problem, while the leaders of their countries are settling territorial problems in a less peaceful manner.

Julia Richman has between seven and eight thousand students and is the largest girls' high school in the world. It is named after a Jewish head mistress who did so much for education in New York City that they honored her memory by naming a school after her.

There are two buildings, joined by covered bridges. In both buildings there are six floors and two lifts in each, which you use if you are very lucky.

The fifth floor of one building is entirely taken up by a wonderful cafeteria. This is an example of the popular "help yourself" system in America. Each girl picks up a tray and slides along a rail in front of the counters of food.

She can have the choice of one of the special hot dinners or some of the exciting cold dishes and sweets displayed before her, for ninepence. She can have half a pint of milk, a round of bread and butter, a hot dish (fish, macaroni, etc.), with two vegetables and a sweet. This is very cheap.

When she comes to the end of the rail she helps herself to cutlery, paper serviette and straws, pays and takes the tray back to one of the tables.

In Leeds, I used to take nine or ten subjects, excluding "gym" and music, but here I take only four. These I have every day, in the same place, at the same time.

Being in the heart of New York City, the school has no playing grounds. There is no break to go outside, so that we are in the building from 8:30 A.M. to 3 P.M. Next term my hours will be from 7:50 A.M. to 2.15 P.M. They are certainly early risers in America.

Games are all played in the large gymnasiums. We play volley-ball, baseball and basketball. As in Leeds, there is a nice swimming pool.

I have two free periods a day, when I do my homework in a beautiful auditorium. This has a full-size stage with electrically drawn curtains, microphones, holds 4,000 people and there are permanent rows of tip-up seats, just like a proper theater.

Problem

We have never been able to remember, concerning stalagmites and stalactites, which way each of them was going; and now we have to put Stalinites in the same category.

—*Saturday Night*, Toronto

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In Latin America

Currents and Cross-currents

THE frontier conflict between Ecuador and Peru occupies much space in the Latin-American press, and in mid-July this hundred-year-old territorial dispute was far from being settled. Without a war declaration, the skirmishes grew into attacks by artillery and airplane bombs, resulting in destruction of villages and churches in Ecuador. Peru, which has 6,500,000 inhabitants, bases its claim for 120,000 square miles east of the Andes—which Ecuador (population 2,500,000) considers its territory—on the administrative division under the Spanish Crown, centuries ago. If Peruvian claims to about two-thirds of Ecuadorian territory were granted in full, Ecuador would lose all territory drained by the tributaries of the Amazon and would remain in possession only of the west side of the Andes, with a narrow strip of the coastal plain and a few mountain plateaus. In area and importance to the countries concerned, this dispute is second only to the conflict over Chaco Boreal for which Paraguay and Bolivia fought for more than three years.

That Nazi agents have their fingers in this fight, seeking to prevent Hemisphere solidarity, may be gathered from Ecuador's note to Peru in which it admitted that the incidents at the frontier "are the irresponsible deeds of a group of persons, most of them young boys acting without authority." According to reliable reports, many Nazi agents arrived recently in large numbers as the usual "tourists" or as "immigrants" whose German passports had the "J" (Jew) mark. These visitors immediately disappeared into the interior. (There were similar reports from Syria just before the fighting began there.) The fact that at that time Ecuador expelled Count Heinrich von Matuska seems to confirm the belief that the first incidents were provoked by a Nazi-inspired fillibustering expedition. They occurred shortly after the arrival in Ecuador of Dr. Kurt Heinrich Rieth, former Nazi Ambassador to Austria, who then fled to the United States and was later arrested here for entering the country under a fraudulent visa.

Shortly before the outbreak, Peruvian officers had been arrested in Ecudorean territory while engaged in "topographical work."

The prospect of prolonged war between these countries meets with no enthusiasm in Peru. Several leaders of the largest Peruvian popular party, the outlawed APRA, were arrested for agitating against their country's war preparations. They claim that the Peruvian Government seeks a diversion from its internal troubles by exciting war hysteria to counteract recent sporadic army revolts. In Ecuador, however, the leaders of the Socialist party and of several trade unions declared that

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though, in principle, they oppose all wars, in this emergency they were willing to fight for the integrity of their nation. The ABC countries and the United States are still seeking the formula to remove this danger spot while satisfying both belligerents.

On the other hand, Latin-America's kindlier feelings for the United States assume more practical aspects every day. Among the most significant events is Uruguay's proposed "formula" of non-belligerency for all countries of this Hemisphere, providing that no American nation involved in a war with a country from another continent would be subject to the rules of belligerency affecting other American countries. The United States and several Latin-American nations have already accepted that formula, but the Argentine Government has not yet expressed its opinion. In the meantime, the Uruguayan Government has announced that it will hold its ports open to the warships of any American country at war against a non-American country and advises all other countries in this Hemisphere to do the same.

In Central America, Costa Rica announced that it would permit the United States to use its transcontinental railway for continental defense, if necessary, to reduce congestion in the Panama Canal. Nicaragua announced that it has increased its air force and formed a squadron of parachutists. Guatemala refused an invitation to send a number of its children to be educated in the best Nazi schools, in exchange for the Guatemalan coffee crop. And Brazil has given the United States the monopoly of such defense materials as rubber, mica, quartz, industrial diamonds and manganese ore, banning their exportation to all other countries.

CHILE'S internal politics were greatly influenced by the outbreak of hostilities between Germany and Russia. Nowhere in this Hemisphere have the Communists so much power and influence as in Chile, where they control a large section of the labor movement and have seventeen of the 147 members in the Chamber of Deputies and four in the Senate. Though belonging to the Popular Front coalition, they continuously attacked the United States as a "war-mongering plutocracy," which finally caused the disruption of the Popular Front, the Socialists refusing to co-operate with opponents of Hemisphere defense. The Russo-German War changed all that: the Communists are now all for the United States, Great Britain and Hemisphere defense. This removal of the principal cause of schism in the Left has strengthened the Liberal Government which is in power.

Uruguay's feeling against Nazi-fascism was brought to fever heat, resulting in violent demonstrations, destruction of Italian restaurants and stores and attacks against the Italian consulates. The cause was an incredible Italian provocation. Passing an anti-Axis demonstration in Durazno, the Italian Vice Consul, Andrea Misciani, and his colleagues, Carlo Morganti and Giuseppe Corcilio, shot at the paraders from their car, killing a seventy-year-old school teacher and wounding seven others. Student protest strikes were declared all over the nation. —S. N.

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Twenty-five Years Ago

World events as interpreted in The Living Age, *August 1916*

THE Presidential campaign was in full swing by August 1916, and *The Living Age* published an article from *The Fortnightly Review* on Hughes' candidacy. The author remarked that neither nominee "will call forth that personal enthusiasm which has been the lot of others in the past. . . . It may be that the American nation is changing or has changed considerably in the past few years. Perhaps a hundred million people must be appealed to in a different manner than sixty million, . . . that no single man can successfully make the personal appeal which has marked political conflicts in the past."

The *Saturday Review* (London) described "Japan's Work in the War" and said that "Lord Salisbury did a good stroke of business for the Empire when he formed the alliance with Japan, which has been of immense benefit to us during the war and will be of increasing advantage. We and our Allies fully recognize the services Japan has rendered in aiding to crush the enemy, and all will welcome the appearance in future of the cleanly and industrious Japanese settler as a most valuable asset. Till lately, such Japanese have often been regarded with suspicion and prejudice, while Germans were welcomed with open arms. The Teutonic scales have fallen from the eyes of the world. We know now how superior to the Germans the Japanese are."

Under the title of "The Constant Mind," *The Spectator* discussed the Asquith Government's conduct of the war: "Admit, if you like, that there has been a want of imagination, so that there was again and again a failure to perceive how the situation was sure to look a few months ahead and a failure to provide for inevitable needs. Even state the case, if you please, in harsher terms, and say that there was lethargy and an incurable willingness to drift. Still, we assert that there has been real constancy of mind. . . . Brilliance often undoes itself; energy that is without caution spoils as much as it achieves. Mr. Asquith . . . has sometimes misread the facts, but he has never puzzled the nation by oscillating between the extremes of complacency and despair."

Among books reviewed was Professor James H. Morgan's *German Atrocities*, which "presents the fruits of official investigation, and is based on official documents—German, French, Belgian and British—including an analysis of the German Official White Book and supplemented by a chapter of depositions and statements, here

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published for the first time. A review and unqualified endorsement of the book, by Viscount Bryce, published as an appendix, will be to most American readers a sufficient voucher for the accuracy of Professor Morgan's statements. Such acts of brutality as are here recorded would have seemed incredible two years ago, as an accompaniment of war among civilized nations, and it may be hoped that, a generation hence, they will seem êqually incredible. But they are, unhappily, too well attested to be ignored."

According to E. Bruce Mitford in *The Fortnightly Review*, "History will name this, of all wars, the Great War —as such, indeed, we know it now; but it is, nevertheless, the War of the Little Nations. The Great Powers are at grips—for the destinies of the Small. . . . In a special sense, it is to settle, once for all, the question whether the mere fact of the proximity of a Great Power to a Small is to imply for the latter domination, absorption and final extinction, and for the world, a continually imperiled peace. If the future can hold for the small nation no guarantee of a separate existence, Armageddon will have been fought in vain, and the day when the wars shall cease will not have dawned. . . . For a power in search of expansion the small, highly organized state has obvious advantages over the undeveloped colony; it is, so to speak, a colony ready-made. . . . For many years it has been the custom for German officials to represent the central position of their country on the Continent as one of confinement and restraint—with more than a suggestion of hostile intent on the part of the surrounding states. . . . It was the first stage in the preparation of the Teutonic mind for the present great adventure. Once persuade your perfervid Boche that the Fatherland stands in danger of assault from grasping and unscrupulous neighbors, and he will be the more ready to accept, without question, any sophisticated version of German foreign policy prepared for home consumption."

John Palmer, in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, felt, "It is unfortunate that in 1916 we would be betrayed by an accident of time into celebrating a tercentenary of William Shakespeare. Never was his fame so low or so confused."

—And Fifty Years Ago (August 1891)

THE *Living Age* published a report from *The Nineteenth Century* on the recently held convention to form a Commonwealth of Australia. The author concluded that one "who knows how easily the greatest of all democratic confederations has degenerated into a vast organization of political 'bossdom' and 'party spoils,' with enormous revenues drawn from the mass of the people to be squandered, may be forgiven if he face the grand and inevitable destiny of nationhood—of 'one people and one destiny'—with some misgiving, and hope that, at least in these out-of-the-way southern seas, a great people may be formed, within whose borders there may be real freedom and good government, none being able to level at our new-born greatness the reproach that 'our rich are becoming richer and our poor poorer.'"

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Poems of the Month

Chosen by TOM BOGGS

A Hero in the Land of Dough

Another nickel in the slot
And you will hit the lucky Dot—
Down will pour the Great Jack Pot.

Up the avenue you'll go
A hero in the land of dough—
Ticker tape will fall like snow.

You will be the lucky one
Lolling in the summer sun
Watching lucky horses run,

Watching lucky numbers spin,
You will be the next to win—
Put another nickel in.

ROBERT CLAIRMONT
—in *New Verse*, Providence Journal

Motor Landscape

Pale apple light in New England pastures
Drumming to ground beneath the tree
(Shanghai is set about with music
Of bombs striking into the sea.)

Sweet curve of land by the Vermont roadside
Grazing to pastures near the sky
(The locusts of the planes are falling
On the harvests of Shanghai.)

God of the white church on the corner,
Father Einstein, Brother Man—
Pattern the bombs' and the apples' falling
Into a meaning if you can.

MARSHALL SCHACHT
—in *Compass Anthology* 1941

Immanent

The drone of airplane neared, and dimmed away,
The child beyond high-tide mark still toiled on;
Salt water welled the trench that in his play
He'd dug to beleaguer his grey fortress stone.
Lovely as Eros, and half-naked too,
He heaped dried beach-drift, kindled it, and lo!
The furious furnace roared, the sea-winds blew—
Vengeance divine; and death to every foe!
Young god! and not ev'n Nature eyed askance
The fire-doomed Empire of a myriad Ants.

WALTER DE LA MARE
—in *Poetry, a Magazine of Verse*

The Paper Nautilus

For authorities whose hopes
are shaped by mercenaries?
Writers entrapped by
teatime fame and by
commuters' comforts? Not for these
the paper nautilus
constructs her thin glass shell.

Giving her perishable
souvenir of hope, a dull
white outside and smooth-
edged inner surface
glossy as the sea, the watchful
maker of it guards it
day and night; she scarcely

eats until the eggs are hatched.
Buried eight-fold in her eight
arms, for she is in
a sense a devil-
fish, her glass-ramshorn-cradled freight
is hid but is not crushed.
As Hercules, bitten

by a crab loyal to the hydra,
was hindered to succeed,
the intensively

(Continued on page 600)

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Books Abroad

The Burning of the Books

By Ifan Kyrle Fletcher

London Calling

A FEW weeks ago this note appeared in a newspaper published at Cleveland, Ohio: "On the same mail, the twenty-sixth of each month, we receive a plain, manila envelope, postmarked London, with an ordinary halfpenny stamp. Come great hordes of Nazi bombers regularly over London, come death and destruction and fires from incendiary bombs, our London bookshop owner promptly mails his catalogue on the fifth of each month. Not once has he been delayed since September when the Nazi air invasion of Britain began. It requires exactly three weeks to the day for the catalogue to reach our desk. The stepped-up U-boat warfare against Britain's North Atlantic shipping lifelines hasn't so far delayed our plain manila envelope a single day. We often wonder what experiences our envelopes could tell of their voyage here from the time the London shop owner drops them in the post."

The writer of this note and I are complete strangers, but he knows one tiny fact about me—that on the fifth of every month I post some plain manila envelopes to the United States (he doesn't know it but they are also posted to Canada and Australia, India and the Argentine). He has received one of these envelopes every month and across three thousand miles of desperately dangerous sea he sends back his question: "How are you carrying on?" This article is an attempt to answer that friendly question.

In the old, far-off days of peace the life of an antiquarian bookseller was pleasant and uneventful. Books were gathered from the usual sources of supply—the impersonal auction sales of the big cities and the rather pathetic break-up of the libraries of the fine country houses of England. They were catalogued in a quiet and often scholarly atmosphere. Lists were printed in the normal course of business and were delivered, in what seems, by wartime standards, an incredibly short time, to their destinations at home and overseas. It was a pleasant life for those who loved books; not lacking in the excitements of pursuit and capture of a rarity or the unexpected discovery of a treasure, but on the whole a placid life moving along well-marked lines of routine.

The war has altered all that. It has smashed every detail of the routine. Bookselling has become something poised halfway between a game of chance and an act of faith. The stability necessary to the contemplative life has disappeared and in its place is danger, danger not only threatening the safety of every man, woman and

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child (that is the unpleasant consequence of every war), but, for the first time for many centuries, danger threatening books themselves, and the literature which they enshrine.

About eight years ago, as we can now see, the Nazis revealed themselves in their true colors. What happened on the night of May 13, 1933, was no obscure diplomatic or political move, unknown to all but statesmen. It was a simple act of destruction which has profoundly affected the lives of us all. Do you remember? Twenty-five thousand books were made into a bonfire outside the University of Berlin and were destroyed in the presence of about 40,000 people.

At the time it may have seemed nothing more than the triumph of one political party over another, but we know that all the violence and suffering of the intervening years are, as it were, lit up by the flames of that bonfire. By its light we see and understand another fire, seven and a half years later—the fire of the night of December 29, 1940, when, in the district around St. Paul's Cathedral, nearly 6,000,000 books were destroyed and some of the most precious treasures of our architecture were wrecked. By its light we see and understand other events; the destruction of the library of University College, London; the destruction of the library at Holland House and the partial destruction of this lovely and historic mansion; the destruction of the library of the city of Tours and the looting of the museums and art collections of Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Holland and Belgium.

This is a sad tale of fire, bomb and pillage. It has led us into a state of war so complete that, in the words of E. M. Forster, "civilization, culture, art, literature, music, philosophy—it is difficult to discourse on such topics without sounding unreal. In wartime especially do they lose prestige." And yet we have only to think of the real purpose of that bonfire in 1933 to realize vividly that such topics are not unreal and that in wartime more than ever must they retain their prestige. We are all a little timid in talking about the pleasures of literature—it is so easy to sound pretentious, isn't it? But in these dangerous days it seems right to forget our timidity and remember the simple pleasures that everyone must have received at some time from the world of books. Was it a snatch of a nursery rhyme read to a child by the fire on a winter's night or the solemn grandeur of Milton's mighty line? To everyone is given the chance of these pleasures, the chance to make what Proust calls "the only true voyage of discovery"—to everyone, that is, except those ruled by the Nazis. The bonfire means that to them certain roads at the beginning of that voyage are blocked, the free play of choice is forbidden.

LET me tell you a story which seems to symbolize our attitude to this destructive force. It comes from the last war, when it seems that the great Dr. Johnson himself must have looked down with admiration on the woman who was the keeper of his house in Gough Square, then a museum to his memory. During the air raids she

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scorned to take shelter in a cellar but mounted to the immortal attic and there read Boswell's *Life* until the raiders had passed. A sad epilogue to this story is that in the great fire at the end of 1940 Dr. Johnson's house was burnt. I like to remember all such people, among them booksellers, anonymous, inoffensive folk, whose shops and stocks have been ruthlessly destroyed by the bombers; and especially let us remember those who have been killed in the midst of the implements of their gentle trade. Their tragedy is no greater than that of thousands of others; I mention it as typical.

OUR friends overseas have found it remarkable how tenaciously the people of Britain have clung to their ways of life in spite of death and destruction. How have they done so? I cannot answer for all, but the difficulties and small triumphs of one may give you an insight into the experiences of others.

When war broke out the routine of life was shattered. Sales conducted at the big auction rooms became rare occurrences, and by November 1939 a shortage of good books was an obvious danger. The Government was urging an increase in export trade, especially of commodities such as antiquated books which involve no outlay of precious labor. Books must be found in less usual places. Early in the summer I had received news of a library for sale in the South of France. The declaration of war had prevented me from going to see it, but I now began to think of it again. I applied for the various permits to leave England, to travel by air, to enter France, to export currency if I purchased the library, and early in 1940 I had the curious experience of travelling to France a few months before her surrender.

I am probably being wise after the event, but I cannot help feeling that there were many signs for those who could have read them, the pathetic attempt to keep Paris unaltered by the war, with street-lighting only modified instead of blacked-out as in London; the high proportion of bookshops shut for the duration and the rather feverish air of prosperity about those still open, where the trade, I was told, depended entirely upon the custom of army officers, who turned to book-collecting because they were bored with inactivity; at Nice the pre-war glitter and brilliance of the elegant shops; the ostrich-like habit of blacking-out the sea-front while all the rest of the town was fully lit; the eagerness to sell displayed by the owner of the library; finally and perhaps most revealing, his pride in his recently-acquired stamp collection, so easy to transport, so difficult for inquisitive officials to value, so easily disposed of in any part of the world.

On the way back through Paris I opened negotiations whereby one of the most important libraries in France would have become the property of a great American institution. Letters were still passing when the situation in France became desperate. The institution sent the owner of the library a cable urging him, if it were still possible, to send his books to safety in America. He forwarded the cable to London for my advice but, alas, it ar-

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rived on the day the Germans entered Paris.

It was a disappointment to have been unable to help in making this superb library safe in America, a disappointment only partly mitigated by the pleasure of bringing the books back from the South of France to England with me. In London the work of cataloguing the books began immediately, but before it was finished there were some dangerous days. When the Battle of Britain was at its height everyone came to know that strange sensation, part apprehension, part resignation, with which one approached one's shop every morning. In the first terrific raid the shop opposite mine was hit and my front windows, handsome windows dating from about 1730, were blown in. Not a book was damaged. A week later another near neighbor was hit and my back windows and their frames were blown in, shutters flung a hundred yards down the street, ceilings destroyed. But not a book was damaged. A fortnight later another air raid obliterated several of my neighbors and wrecked my temporary repairs. But still not a single book was hurt. Work, which had been difficult for some weeks, now became impossible. The premises had no daylight, but more than its share of draughts; eighteen consecutive all-night raids made us more inclined to fall asleep over the books than to catalogue them; the fact that the books had escaped so far created a sort of responsibility to see that they remained permanently safe. So, about six months ago, I moved to a country town, where the work could go on without interruption and the books would seem comparatively secure.

This is some of the story behind the plain manila envelope which arrived in Cleveland and excited the curiosity of a friendly journalist. Not quite all the story, of course, because you must remember that to have a catalogue printed in wartime means more than just placing the order. The printer is rationed for paper, his younger workmen have been called up, but the catalogue is issued just the same. In about six weeks the orders from America begin to come back and those books from the South of France begin an even longer journey. They travel under license from the British Government and with a guarantee from me that the dollars I receive will be sold to the Bank of England, so that more planes, more guns, more tanks can be bought from our friends overseas. I like to think of the three partners in this wartime activity—the booksellers of England, clinging tenaciously to the way of life which seems good to them; the collectors and book-lovers of the American Continent, many of them sharing the language of our literature, all of them sharing our delight in good books; and the books themselves, guardians of civilization and liberty, being traded for weapons of war.

G. K. Chesterton

By Monsignor Ronald Knox

Home Service, London

MY cherished memory of the late Gilbert Chesterton is that of a luncheon-party with friends in Hert-

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fordshire, after which he was asked if he would walk down to the end of the garden, so that a bed-ridden old lady upstairs might see, from her window, the great Mr. Chesterton. He acceded readily enough, though it was with more difficulty that we persuaded him to remove the waste-paper basket with which he had modestly obscured his features. To relieve his self-consciousness, I suggested walking with him. "Oh, do come," he said, "then you will look like *the ordinary person.*" He was not only a fat man and proud of it, but very tall and broad. And I honestly think it was this physical greatness which he had the intention of parading, set off by contrast with the ordinary person, myself. But as I walked down such a garden path as he would have loved to describe, flaming with poppies and delphiniums by the side of an old mill-stream, I was vividly conscious that his intellectual greatness might have been set off, not by such an ordinary person as myself, but by almost any figure in contemporary life. Almost anybody was an ordinary person compared with him.

I CALL that man intellectually great who is an artist in thought. There have been artists in words who were content to borrow the thoughts of other men; there have been great thinkers who were content to express themselves anyhow. There are only a few whose thought seems to spring out of them clothed in words that adequately express it: Plato, for example, or Pascal. Chesterton was an artist in thought. He was an artist, in the sense of one who drew pictures, before he started writing; and most of us know how, in his pictures, a single figure, full of movement, stands out luminous from a vague background. So his mind saw things; it seized instinctively on the essences of them. When he writes about "a primitive monster, with a strangely small head set on a neck not only longer but larger than itself: with one disproportionate crest of hair running along that neck like a beard in the wrong place; with feet each like a solid horn, alone amid the feet of so many cattle," it takes us aback at first, until we realize that it is a perfectly accurate description of the horse. So he saw, with a vision not given to many of us, that still stranger creature we call Man.

I call that man intellectually great, who can work equally well in any medium. I believe it is true that Chesterton walked into the office of his literary agent one day, and asked if there was any book the publishers wanted. "Nothing in your line, I'm afraid: the last thing we heard of was the *Saturday Evening Post* wanting detective stories." "Oh, well, I don't know," he said, and sitting down there and then wrote the first of the Father Brown stories. Detective stories, extravaganzas, poetry, drama, history, biography, essays, controversy—all came alike to him as his medium. He was not a careful craftsman in any of them; perhaps *The Ballad of the White Horse* is his most accurate piece of work: but always the luminous idea stood out—the idea we had never seen, looking at the facts a thousand times, because it was so simple.

I call that man intellectually great,

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who sees the whole life as a coherent system; who can touch on any theme, and illuminate it, and always in a way that is related to the rest of his thought, so that you say, "Nobody but he would have written that." Chesterton was such a man; the body of ideas which he labelled, rather carelessly, "distributism," is a body of ideas which still lasts, and I think will last; but it is not exactly a doctrine, or a philosophy; it is simply Chesterton's reaction to life.

His work burst upon the world with an astonishing maturity of observation and of thought. By the time he was thirty, when he had written *The Napoleon of Notting Hill*, and his *Life of Dickens*, you would say he had not merely seen through, but lived through, everybody else's illusions. He wrote *Heretics* in 1905 as a man already tired of that tired æsthetic world in which he had grown up, as a man already too sophisticated for that sophisticated liberalism which was then invading our politics, as a man already too disillusioned to believe in the incredulties of the late-Victorian scientists. And at this point, if I may be pardoned for a Chestertonian way of expressing myself, he grew up from manhood into boyhood. There was a boyish strain in him, as of one who has never quite got over reading *Treasure Island*. He owed much to Stevenson—R. L. S., we affectionately call him, just as we still talk affectionately of G. K. C. He borrowed from Stevenson, in spite of a wide difference of temperament, that aggressive optimism with which he proceeded, from 1905 onwards, to attack the winning side. He defended small nations at a time when we were being told to think imperially, defended private property when we were all playing with socialism; defended the small business and the small shop when everything was falling into the hands of the chain-stores; defended the home when women were going feminist; defended marriage when society had made up its mind to accept divorce. And yet, while he stood for very old things, he always seemed much younger than the people he was arguing with. His whole pose in controversy was that of the *enfant terrible* who cannot be stopped telling the truth. His general philosophy in *The Man Who Was Thursday* and *The Ball and the Cross*, his theology in *Orthodoxy*, his political views in *What's Wrong With the World*—they are thrown at you with a boy's light-heartedness.

THE most boyish of his tricks was the little laugh he could not resist when one of his own impromptus amused him. You could hardly call it a chuckle or a giggle; it was more like a little neigh of excitement, high-pitched, impossible to reproduce. I can remember when I first heard it; it was at the meeting of an undergraduate society at Oxford, and the occasion of it was some controversy, then in progress between two towns in Suffolk, as to which was the original of Dickens' Eatanswill. Delighted as he was that Dickens should be in the news, he could not resist pointing out, as always, the obvious truth which everybody misses. "The ideal of the modern man," he suggested (and here his

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own laugh came), "is to be able to say, I have built my bungalow on the exact site of Sodom and Gomorrah." But his whole manner in controversy was one—I do not know how else to describe it—of schoolboy impudence; he had the impish delight of the pupil who has found his master out in a mistake. Deeply as he cared about all that he stood for, an argument was always something of a game to him. I remember once, when I was criticizing the theology of a peer of the realm who, for political reasons, had decided not to use his title, I asked Chesterton whether he thought it would be unfair, in writing about him, to give him his full title nevertheless. And the laugh came again as he said, "It's a foul weapon, but we'll use it."

IT WAS in the year 1922, when his age was still short of fifty, that Chesterton, if I may be allowed to pursue my paradox, grew up from boyhood into childhood, by a change of religion. To be sure there was always a childlike element in his character. I like the story of a small guest at a children's party in Beaconsfield, who was asked when he got home whether Mr. Chesterton had been very clever. "I don't know about clever," was the reply, "but you should see him catch buns in his mouf." He did not, like many grown-ups who are reputedly "fond of children" exploit the simplicity of childhood for his own amusement. He entered, with tremendous gravity, into the tremendous gravity of the child.

It must be confessed, too, that, like other great intellects, he went about somewhat in need of a nurse. It may not be a true story, but it is certainly not an incredible story, that he once telegraphed to his wife, "Am in Liverpool; where ought I to be?" But I mean something different when I suggest that, in the remaining years of his life, Chesterton reached the age of childhood. His thought was as vigorous as ever; and I am firmly of the opinion that posterity will regard *The Everlasting Man* as the best of his books. But his ideas seemed to grow even larger and more luminous; behind the tortuosities of his style you detected a vast simplicity of treatment. He contributed once to a broadcast series under the title of "Six Days' Hard"; each speaker was to describe the events of a week, or his own experiences during the week, and choose his own method of approach. The rest of us talked about this and that; Chesterton devoted twenty minutes to the six Days of Creation.

The reason for this change was a simple one; he had found his home. Just as the hero of his own book *Manalive* walked round the world to find, and to have the thrill of finding, the house which belonged to him, so Chesterton probed all the avenues of thought and tasted all the philosophies, to return at last to that institution which had been his spiritual home from the first, the Church of his friend, Father Brown. He would, I think, have done so before, if he had not been anxious to spare the feelings of his wife, the heroine of all his novels, who followed him into the Church only four years later. Readers of his autobiography will remember how in one

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of his earliest chapters he describes the chief figure in a peepshow which was the delight of his youth: a man who stood on a bridge, carrying a golden key. They will remember how, later in the book, he uses that figure for a symbol of one whom he came to recognize as Key-bearer and Pontiff, so many years afterwards. He felt himself that he had come home. He was still a fighter, and in some of the causes he fought for he did not carry with him the sympathies of all his co-religionists. But those religious ideas which were the deepest thing in him no longer made him an outlaw in a world of madmen; he had found companions at last, in the children of God's Nursery.

So, only a few years back, he went to Lisieux to visit the shrine of that Saint whose message to us all was to be converted and become as little children. He fell ill on his return, and a few days later we buried him in the new cemetery at Beaconsfield, the extension of that graveyard which covers the bones of Edmund Burke.

The Cigar Clue

Dutchmen watching their native land from London have hit upon an ingenious method of calculating how many German soldiers there are now in the occupied area of the Netherlands. The calculation is made in terms of cigars. So many millions of cigars are produced in Holland every month. Of these, so many millions are allocated to the German troops. The postulate is that every German soldier in Holland is allowed two cigars a day. That granted and the sum worked out, the answer is that the number of German soldiers now in Holland must be from six to seven hundred thousand.

That is a figure which will help to convince the hungry people in Holland that the Netherlands Minister of Economic Affairs is right in sending them no supplies while the Germans are still in occupation; but we are less concerned at the moment with usefulness of the calculation than with its neatness. The measure of the German foot has been taken unawares. It cannot be said of the invaders that their feet have touched the meadows and left the daisies rosy; but to the sharp eyes of the Dutch observers the Prussian jack-boot, as it used to be called, has left a mark.

A generation so fond as the present of mysteries to unravel cannot fail to welcome a cigar allowance into the vast but not inexhaustible number of clues.

—*The Times*, London

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Our Own Bookshelf

BERLIN DIARY. *By William L. Shirer. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1941. 605 pages, and index. $3.00.*

MR. SHIRER'S diary, for all its episodic and diffuse entries, in many parts gives the reader a more graphic picture of events in Germany before and during the war than other more formal and documented studies, both by historians and by other newspaper correspondents. The fact that the author wrote many of these notes in haste, and had to keep them well hidden or smuggle them out of the Nazi Reich, gives the entire book a nervous style which, aside from Mr. Shirer's subject matter, is highly effective in itself.

The author had the good fortune to have covered almost every major political and military coup in Europe since Hitler seized power in 1933. *Berlin Diary* opens in 1934 but Mr. Shirer was in Europe long before that: This reviewer can recall the earnest Bill Shirer from Iowa, working for the *Chicago Tribune* fully sixteen years ago. He has had long training in perhaps those most important characteristics of the best American newspaper men; that is, objectivity together with the ability to see details that are revealing and illuminating. In this he was especially apt in Germany where he kept a sense of proportion despite "the shadow of Nazi fanaticism, sadism, persecution, regimentation, terror, brutality, suppression, militarism —a dark, brooding cloud that never clears."

As others have before him, Mr. Shirer emphasizes the real fear of most Germans of R.A.F. raids. He gives accounts in some detail of the appalling "mercy killings" of the Nazis, of young and old mental defectives. And convincingly he describes the increasing restiveness of the German civil population under ever smaller rations, of ever more frequent reprisals from the enemy and of new restrictions added daily. But—and again as said often in the past year or more—Mr. Shirer sees no imminent revolution in the Reich. In the conclusion to *Berlin Diary*, he explains directly why in his judgment there is no immediate hope of the German turning on his Nazi rulers:

"The German has two characters. As an individual he will give his rationed bread to feed the squirrels in the Tiergarten on a Sunday morning. He can be a kind and considerate person. But as a unit in the Germanic mass he can persecute Jews, torture and murder his fellow men in a concentration camp, massacre women and children by bombing and bombardment, overrun without the slightest justification the lands of other peoples, cut them down if they protest, and enslave them."

Berlin Diary gives the reader an un-

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forgettable picture of the German capital. Many of the notes have not appeared in the American press, and even more of them Mr. Shirer could not relay to American audiences during the years when, the censor at his elbow, he served as Berlin correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System.

—L. M.

REASON AND REVOLUTION: *Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory. By Herbert Marcuse. New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. XII + 431 pp. $3.75.*

THE primary significance of Mr. Marcuse's work is that it raises once more the difficult question of the relation between philosophy and social movements. This question is even more difficult than the problem of the bearing of ideas upon action because the very nature of philosophical ideas is in dispute and social movements cannot be understood as merely an aggregate of individual actions. The relationship between philosophy and social movements can be considered on at least three different planes. These must be distinguished before we can evaluate the validity of Mr. Marcuse's study.

The first plane is logical. Are there any systematic logical connections between a set of assumptions or conclusions about the nature of the world ("reality"), and a set of beliefs or policies about what is desirable in society? Can a way of salvation, personal or social, be uniquely derived from a theory of the universe?

The second plane is personal. Is there a psychological connection between a thinker's conception of what is "real" and his personal commitments or espousals in politics, where politics is understood in the widest sense?

The third plane is social. An influential philosophy, in the nature of the case, appeals to a certain public with determinate interests. Where this philosophy is institutionalized or proscribed, favored or discriminated against, there is *prima facie* evidence that it is being used either to sustain or to undermine conventional practices and ideals. Can we establish any significant *historical* connection between the various types of philosophical thought and the social uses to which they have been put?

When we examine Hegel's philosophy with these distinctions in mind, we reach some interesting conclusions. Taken in the context of his times and in relation to other thinkers against whom he directed his arguments, Hegel's social philosophy must be pronounced definitely conservative. He was not a reactionary like Haller; and he certainly was not a liberal. Mr. Marcuse is so intent upon the supererogative task of proving that Hegel was not a Fascist, that he obscures the essential fact that Hegel was an outspoken conservative, considered himself such and was so considered by his contemporaries except for obscurantists like Hengstenberg who were suspicious of the use of "reason" to justify the status quo.

Our first question is whether Hegel's conservatism follows *logically* from his absolute idealism. We know as a matter of fact that absolute idealists both in Germany and England have been liberal. This is not decisive because they may have purchased their liberalism at the price of philosophical inconsistency. More important is the fact that Hegel's deductions of social principles from his metaphysical notions are, in strict logic, fallacious; they usually are transparently question-begging, and sometimes grotesque non-sequiturs as in his *Rechtsphilosophie*. Nor can we show that Hegel's dialectic method entails a unique social position. At best it is incompatible with a social view that denies the existence and possibility of change. No serious social philosophy denies the existence or possibility of change in social affairs. Social philosophies differ concerning questions of the rate of change, the institutions to be changed, and the role of human action and intelligence in the process of change. With little ingenuity any social philosophy can demonstrate that its views are logically compatible both with Hegel's system and method.

This brings us to the problem of the psychological relationship between philosophical and political views. Here, too, the history of philosophy makes it extremely hazardous to risk generalizations.

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There have been materialists, like Hobbes and Santayana, who have been conservative; there have been idealists, like Kant, the early Fichte, Lassalle, who have been liberals and radicals. Each philosopher must be studied as a special case. In Hegel's case, it seems to me that a judicious conclusion would be that Hegel was essentially a "safe" man. His published work shows a consistent desire to stand in well with the fat and powerful. There is evidence, ignored by Mr. Marcuse, that Hegel was appalled by the excesses of the French Revolution which he attributed to the false way of thinking of the Enlightenment. The chief driving motivation of his intellectual life became the construction of a new organic-dynamic logic which would substitute for the revolutionary Understanding (*Verstand*) of the Enlightenment, the orderly Reason (*Vernunft*) of the inevitable, historical process. In many places, Hegel is explicit on this point. "The necessity of understanding Logic in a wider sense than as the science of the form of thought," he tells us, "is enforced by the interests of religion and politics, of law and morality."

THERE remains the momentous question: the social bearings of Hegel's philosophy, leaving its logical and psychological aspects aside. Were this the place for it, it could be shown that absolutist philosophies as a rule lend themselves more easily to use in justifying vested interests than thoroughgoing empiricism. The reason is not far to seek. Empiricism as a philosophical attitude is essentially public and critical. In insisting that all facts and values show the evidence upon which they rest, it uncovers the hidden interests that are often concealed behind abstractions. These interests are dragged into the light of day, their conflicts faced openly and squarely, and the first step taken to negotiate them if possible. The absolutist position which identifies in theory the real and the rational reinforces the conservative prejudice that the historically existent is reasonable.

Mr. Marcuse's book makes the extravagant claim that Hegel held a brand of liberalism which was even more advanced than that of the French Revolution. Were it not for his earnestness, one might imagine that this was an expression of *jeu d'esprit*. He is aware of some of the difficulties his thesis faces and makes a valiant effort to overcome them. He is also aware of the contradictions which abound in Hegel's philosophy. It was apropos of Hegel's contradictions that Bertrand Russell wittily said that "a philosopher's inconsistencies are the clue to his passions." Instead of exploring these inconsistencies to see where they lead, Mr. Marcuse has adopted a convenient device to discount them. Compelled to recognize Hegel's "apparent" contradictions in the *Philosophy of Law*, Mr. Marcuse blithely informs us that Hegel's contradictions are natural because existence is itself contradictory! Not even Hegel would have resorted to such a pathetic extenuation. Even if one were to admit that social existence is contradictory, whatever that may mean, it does not follow that our account or description of that existence must be contradictory. As well say that our description of a color must itself be colored, our account of a fragrance itself perfumed.

There is a great need for a straightforward exposition of Hegel in intelligible English which would enable the intelligent layman to grasp the essential principles of Hegel's philosophy. It is a pity that Mr. Marcuse has subordinated philosophic exposition and criticism to tendentious apologetic.

—SIDNEY HOOK

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN HISTORY. *James Truslow Adams, Editor-in-Chief. R. V. Coleman, Managing Editor. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1941. 6 volumes, including index. $60.*

THIS is a substantial project, some four years in the making, and executed with great common sense and a good deal of imagination. It sustains magnificently the ultimate test of a reference work: that its entries may be read one after the other for entertainment and stimulation, and that the reader finds it difficult to refer to "Norwegian Immigration," say, without continuing into "Not Worth a Continental." This reviewer has a depressing familiarity with the appalling number of encyclopedias and dictionaries presented to the

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public the last thirty years, most of them indifferent rewrite compilations where little, if any, original research work was done but where assembly-line methods were employed to save editorial costs of production. There does not appear to be any vast amount of original research in the *Dictionary of American History*, but the selection of subjects is intelligent, and often delightful (consider "Bathtubs and Plumbing," "Comic Strips and Funny Papers" and "The Abundant Life"), and the style almost throughout is crisp and economical. Few articles run to 1,000 words —the World War is less than 2,000, while General Pershing's description of the A. E. F. is only some 300 words. To condense and still deal adequately with a subject, in dictionary or encyclopedia, requires a variety of editorial genius, and here you have it.

Partly because of price, and as much because of the nature of the contents, the bulk of sales of encyclopedia and unabridged dictionaries in this country is to the libraries, where they are often lost to sight because of competing works. There is no competition here, so far as this reviewer knows, unless it is in the tens of thousands of volumes which deal individually with all the history collected here in five volumes. The editors and their advisory council of historians, have had the good sense and acumen to shape the work for the office and home, rather than for public mausoleums; and the publishers have priced the *Dictionary* at a level which makes it possible to bring it into many homes—where it belongs, as well as in libraries.

In his foreword, Mr. Adams makes the point that in the last thirty years American history has been rewritten, both in the light of old records unearthed and more revelatory standards and viewpoints established. The current state of the world, now in a finish fight over two opposed philosophies of government, has turned Americans to examining and weighing their own history in far more pragmatic and thoughtful spirit than existed heretofore. That is one of the reasons for the appearance of this work, and it is as sound in itself as, by and large, the *Dictionary* is in execution. Some indication of its catholicity lies in such subject-articles as (the American history of) "Advertising," "The Theatre," "Baseball," "Book Publication," "The Linotype," the card game, "Bridge," "Cookery," "Unemployment Insurance," "The Tin Can," etc. Even Joe Louis, for example, is regarded by the editors as a part of the historical picture of the United States. This reviewer could find no article on American slang and, though there are mechanical limitations to any such work, that omission seems a pity in this comprehensive and well-proportioned work. But to belabor that minor omission is to quibble. As to physical make-up, the type is easily read, and the volumes are surprisingly light in weight. The editors and publishers are to be congratulated.

—A. J. R.

THE LONG WEEKEND: A British Social History, 1918-1939. *By Robert Graves and Alan Hodge. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1941. 455 pages. $3.00.*

WHY, asks a foreword to this informal chronicle, are silver foxes not mentioned? To that omission and others the authors briskly answer: fill the gaps in for yourselves, please, everybody!

It might be called the "dead-pan" manner, familiar enough in literature today, and so casually wrought one wonders if such writers are quite aware of the innovation. Especially is it a "total" method of writing that has its counterpart in the movies, the radio, the news-reel, the picture-magazine. And so we are conducted on a tour of what seems to be an era of utter miscellany, with the exhibits headlined thus: amusements, domestic life, houses, films, pacifism, horoscopes, book clubs, non-intervention, patent medicines, "barbarism," nudism, recovery, insurance, revolution, keeping fit and a host of others.

Though it seems writers of this sort sidestep something they have a disarming honesty. Here are the facts, draw your own conclusions. The price of hats on Bond Street may or may not be as important as the price of fish in Bloomsbury, the authors give no clue, they are merely recorders. But they are not utterly objective, and before we finish the book we can guess at the reason for this seemingly uncritical immersion in the stream of events.

If they lack a point of view, Graves and

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Hodge do have an attitude, an amused, slightly cynical tolerance of all events, whatever their weight. As the history unreels, that tolerance shows signs of becoming irritation, however. The apparent irrelevance of events is beginning to get under their skin, their objective attitude becomes a merely negative one. The authors seem to say that the philosophy of take it or leave it is now ingrained in life itself, and who are they to question that?

By no means all the chronicle is grim or vicious, but the sense of futility and exasperation is the dominant mood, and this is a story told in moods rather than in chronological sequence. The chapter "Days of the Loch Ness Monster" characterizes the entire two decades as increasingly publicity-mad. "Promotion," we are told, enlivened the imagination of the many at the expense of the private lives of the few, who indeed could maintain their privileges only by telling the others about themselves, by means of the press agent.

It is the story of a period with no fixed set of values, of a world—at least until the war came along—beyond Christian or ethical judgment, and the undertone, beneath the bright chatter of the authors is disquieting. Curiously, this history of Britain is also the reflection of what happened in America about the same time, or shortly before, proof of the influence of our country, for good or bad, round the face of the earth, by way of the radio, the movies, the automobile and all the rest.

The book indeed is a full weekend trip into history, but the significance of the title seems strangely to have been missed, or else the authors let that, too, be inferred. For Britain gave the long weekend to civilization. No wonder Hitler, who sees the British Empire as his enemy, works his lightning on holidays; the Führer is also waging war upon the ideology of the long weekend. This may be hindsight, but the authors were already aware of the threat when they wrote the book. It might have helped give the story a tension that it somehow lacks: the knowledge that something was happening to this leisurely if purblind and self-satisfied way of life.

—JOHN MITCHELL

GOOD NEIGHBORS. *By Hubert Herring. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. 381 pages. $3.00.*

OUR good-neighbor policy and our newly discovered love for the other 120,000,000 Americans of this Hemisphere have unfortunately produced a few books of moon-calf admiration that almost proclaim some of those countries as paradises. Mr. Herring, who was director of the Committee for Cultural Relations with Latin America and for fifteen years travelled there constantly, is not guilty of such puerility; he neither exaggerates nor minimizes the less fortunate sides of South American life and politics.

More than two thirds of the book are devoted to the ABC countries—Argentina, Brazil and Chile—the most important, no doubt, from the international standpoint. The mere eighteen pages given Mexico seem justifiable, since there are already so many volumes on the republic just south of us.

Those persons, then, who do not want a travelogue, a panegyric or propaganda will find here the more pertinent facts that they seek. The forces for and against democracy, the Fascist and anti-Fascist movements, the infiltrations of Germans, Italians, Japanese and Franco-Spanish falangism, and also the power of the Church, are described vividly but without hysteria. Concise sections deal with city workers and farm laborers, their trade unions and other activities. The author met people of all social classes and listened to their opinions. Changing attitudes toward the United States are interestingly presented. An adequate bibliography, a few maps and an excellent index complete the value of this book.

—STEPHEN NAFT

WAR AND DIPLOMACY IN EASTERN ASIA. *By Claude A. Buss. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1941. 550 pages with bibliograph and index. $5.00.*

Here is an all-around, compact approach to the complex problems of the Far East with emphasis on the tragedy of China as the spoils of Europe and, later, Japan. Compiled with thoroughness and with a noticeable lack of bias, the volume is valuable as a record of the Far Eastern dip-

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lomatic scene. The material is well-organized and provides a complete background of China's historical relations with all the powers. China's case is presented sensibly, as is that of Japan, while all of the policies of the United States, and the British Imperial problem in Asia are taken into full account.

—W.

CAN WE KEEP THE FAITH? *By James Bissett Pratt. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. 218 pages. $2.75.*

THAT Christians, as this author feels, should learn more about their religion, not merely historically but in a theological sense, even philosophically, indicates how Christianity too is feeling the modern trend toward "facts." Being "good" is not enough; if we remember our catechism, we must be good according to certain conditions. And we must understand why.

Can We Keep the Faith? meets the issues raised by reason and skepticism with a flexible liberalism, on the highest grounds. Dr. Pratt asks the question without hedging, without assuming at all, at first, that we can keep that faith. He knows that indifference is the greatest enemy of the church today. He knows how other great religions have died of it.

His argument, which does not end in an unequivocal Yes, takes cognizance of all that is happening in science. Naturalism and the materialistic point of view seem to have been weakened by some late discoveries; the author takes advantage of that to prepare his point, which is that the Christian religion can be retained by clear-thinking, modern man.

Dr. Pratt believes that even science is proving a conscious purpose to creation, a cosmic mind, as he puts it, whose body the world is. Our time, he says, is awakening to the indications of teleology in the evolution of life; the general facts of biological evolution Christianity need no longer fear. Moreover, the Christian philosophy fits the needs of the human heart; finally, Christianity, as Christ said, is faith not knowledge. It only needs to be consistent with itself. Shall we keep that faith, Dr. Pratt asks.

—J. M.

GERMANY THE AGGRESSOR THROUGHOUT THE AGES. *By F. J. C. Hearnshaw. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1941. 288 pages. $2.50.*

THIS is a thumbnail-sketch history of Europe from the early Middle Ages to this date, represented as revolving around the axis—no allusion meant—of eternal German aggression or provocation in almost all struggles and wars of that continent. England's bitterness in this struggle for life and death—which it tried to avoid almost at the price of its honor—appears in this little book from the fact that its author, the venerable seventy-two-year-old Professor of History of the University of London and author of many authoritative books such as *Conservatism in England, Survey of Socialism, Democracy and Labor*, etc., was unable to suppress his emotion and indignation and repeatedly uses such expressions as "dastardly," "bottomless fraud," etc. There is no doubt that most of Europe's wars for the last 200 years, those of Frederick the "Great", the first partition of Poland, the Napoleonic Wars—which resulted from the Prussian invasion of Republican France to re-establish the monarchy after the beheading of Louis XVI—the Danish War, the Austro-Prussian War, the Franco-Prussian War of 1871, the War of 1914-18 and the present one, were caused or provoked by Germany or its predecessor and present ruler, Prussia. But whether this justifies taking toward the whole German people Cato's attitude in paraphrase—"*Ceterum censeo Germaniam esse delendam*"—will have to be settled by future generations.

But perhaps the author had the intention of writing a volume of propaganda.

—S. N.

THE NEGRO IN TENNESSEE, 1865-1880. *By Alrutheus Ambush Taylor. Washington, D. C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc. 1941. 306 pages. $3.00.*

Professor Taylor's account adds new documentary evidence of the role in our expanding country the black man played. He tells here the freed Negro's progress upward in Tennessee, his efforts to achieve political and social equality, the trades he turned to with his release from slavery.

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It is, in a way, a history of Negro labor, with profuse instances of what Negroes worked at, their wages, unions, accident compensation, etc. Colored mechanics in Tennessee organized themselves into a "'traders,' labor and industrial union" at Nashville as far back as August 1871. Much of the Negro's activity during the Reconstruction period is maligned in history; this book represents them in the light of sober citizens, gravely conscious of the dignity the Civil War had won for them.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN HANDBOOK 1941. *Edited by Howell Davis. New York: H. W. Wilson & Co. (agents for Trade and Travel Publications, Ltd., of London). 1941. 678 plus* LVIII *pages. $1.00.*

This yearbook, now in its eighteenth annual edition, is a masterly condensation and combination of a Statesman's Yearbook and Baedeker of Latin America and is indispensable for travellers or those having business or other interests there. It provides excellent maps and gives up-to-date information on natural resources, hotel prices, railway connections, airlines, monetary systems, sports and the personnel of the governments of the southern half of our hemisphere. In spite of its 736 pages, the publishers have ingeniously devised a volume of three-quarters of an inch in thickness which will conveniently fit into any coat pocket, though the paper is not over-thin and the type is clear and black.

THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF POLAND. *New York: Polish Information Center. 1941. 46 pages. Price 25 cents.*

This is the fifth in a series of pamphlets "relating to the administration of occupied countries in Eastern Europe." It is a well documented relation of the events of the first months of the Polish occupation, the organized plunder of the nation, its present degradation, standards of living of workers and peasants under the Soviet regime, and the forced labor or deportation of thousands of peasants, business men, intellectuals and non-Communist political leaders.

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watched eggs coming from
the shell, free it when they are freed,—
leaving its wasp-nest flaws
of white on white, and close—

laid Ionic chiton-folds
like the lines in the mane of
a Parthenon horse,
round which the arms had
wound themselves as if they knew love
is the only fortress
strong enough to trust to.

MARIANNE MOORE
—in *New Poems 1940*

Valley

All suddenly the morning took
The ferny valley with a look;
Her sweet secluded shape became
The instant image of his flame.
Gone the moon's light in which she lay
Safe from the sun's bold taking.
(Lovelier which 'twas hard to say,
Her white sleep or gold waking.)

FLORENCE HAMILTON
—in *Mss.*

●

Editor, *The Living Age*
Sir:

I would appreciate it if you would print a correction in my article on "Newspapers in Turkey," as published in the June issue of *The Living Age*. The top paragraph on the left side of page 352 should read: "In Turkey, *as everywhere else*, the great majority of the people, both rich and poor, is neither intelligent nor well educated." By omitting the three italicized words, the meaning has been completely adulterated. —SHAH-MIR

(Editor's Note: The phrase to which Shah-Mir Effendi refers was intentionally omitted by the Editors, who considered it a too-sweeping generalization.)

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